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PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES

President of the Mexican Republic for the term of four years commencing Dec. 1, 1924

The Ex-Kaiser's Denial of War Guilt Answered

By ROBERT LANSING

Secretary of State in the Wilson War Cabinet

The November issue of THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contained a declaration by the former German Kaiser in which he denied any responsibility for the World War and categorically reaffirmed his conviction that an alliance hostile to Germany existed before 1914 between Great Britain, France, Japan and the United States. The declarations of the former Emperor were transmitted through George Sylvester Viereck, an American citizen, who has his full confidence, and were subsequently submitted to the former Kaiser for his approval, which he gave, sanctioning publication in a formal manner over his personal signature.

The editor of THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE invited distinguished statesmen of the United States, England and France to reply. Robert Lansing, who was Secretary of State in the Wilson War Cabinet, responded with the contribution which appears herewith, and brief replies were received from Viscount Grey of Fallodon, British Foreign Secretary in 1914, and M. Georges Clemenceau, former French Premier; these replies are reproduced in facsimile in the following pages.

The editor of THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE procured the declaration of the former Kaiser as a contribution to contemporary history, and the reply of Mr. Lansing is obviously of no less historical importance. It is proper to add, however, that this magazine is not a medium for controversial interchanges; hence no additional discussion of the question will be accepted for publication except such as might be offered by the ex-Kaiser himself or by former allied statesmen who speak with the same authority as Mr. Lansing, Earl Grey or M. Clemenceau.—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY.

TWO years ago there appeared a translation of the Memoirs of William Hohenzollern, in which the former Emperor attempted to show that he was always a lover of peace and was personally in no way responsible for the World War, and that his flight and abdication were excusable in view of the revolutionary spirit of Germany and because Field Marshal von Hindenburg advised him to take that course. In THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE of December, 1922, I reviewed those so-called "Memoirs" and pointed out the weaknesses of the defense of the exiled monarch, the numerous errors and falsehoods upon which the defense rested and the puerility of the arguments which were advanced. And now comes a repetition of the same defense and the same arguments, not

from the pen of the deposed Emperor, but through an authorized presentation of his views recorded by a writer whose name in no way adds strength to the attempted vindication of the man who lives in seclusion at Doorn brooding over the fact that by his conduct he has won the scorn and condemnation of the world, and that nothing he can say seems in any way to lessen the weight of guilt and contempt which public opinion has imposed upon him and which will be his portion as long as he lives and after.

The man who is authorized to transmit the views of the unhappy exile is George Sylvester Viereck, the former editor and publisher of the notorious review called Fatherland, whose relations with Dr. Dernburg and the German propaganda were apparently estab-

lished when in the Summer of 1915 Herr Albert's confidential correspondence was obtained and published by a New York newspaper. From the time of these disclosures, which it was alleged showed that Viereck was in the pay of the Germans, the Fatherland was discredited, and the emphatic denials of Viereck failed to convince the public that he was inspired by patriotic motives and by a sense of justice and impartiality when he abused officials of the United States in the most outrageous language and sought to justify the German Government in its barbarous conduct of the war and in its criminal practices in this country.

In this declaration of the ex-Kaiser the essence amounts to this: that the German ruler and his advisers were innocent of this unforgivable wrong against humanity, that the Entente Powers by their alleged "encircling process" and intrigues forced the German Empire to take up arms in its own defense, and that President Wilson perfidiously pretended to seek peace though intending from the beginning to come to the aid of the Allies in accordance with a pact, to which he was secretly a party, as soon as the American people were brought by clever propaganda to a proper state of hostility toward Germany.

In my former review of the "Memoirs" of William Hohenzollern, I discussed and commented upon the attempted avoidance of "war guilt," and I need not repeat that discussion here. Nothing has happened since the "Memoirs" were written, no further facts have been disclosed and no new arguments have been advanced which are of sufficient moment to cause a revision of the opinion, which was expressed in that article, as to where the guilt lies. The responsibility of the Prussian autocracy, which controlled the policies and acts of the German Empire, for plunging the world into the World War has been amply proved. It is a fact so conclusively established that it would be a waste of time to discuss it.

One might feel pity for the former

autocrat of the great empire, built by the swords of his Prussian ancestors, if he bore his condemnation silently or showed remorse for his acts by admitting at least that he had erred, even though he had not intentionally committed a crime against mankind. But no compassion goes forth to one who strives to cast the blame for his own sin upon those against whom the sin was committed. His futile efforts to wipe out the stain which blackens his name arouse contempt and keep alive the deep indignation of a wronged world. The years spent in making ready for war, the world-wide espionage, the rejection of all suggestions of amicable settlement in July, 1914, and the sudden invasion of Belgium in defiance of treaty obligations are facts which alone are sufficient answers to the ex-Kaiser's contentions that he and his Government did not willingly abandon peace. The circumstantial evidence is all against the Prussian militarists; and there is no stronger proof than circumstances when the chain is unbroken, as it is in the trial of the German Government before the bar of international public opinion. In his attempt to overcome established facts the Hohenzollern cuts a sorry figure. If he actually believes what he says, he proves himself to possess less mentality than that with which he has been generally credited. If he does not believe his own assertions, then characterization becomes superfluous.

NO GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

Though it would be mere repetition to traverse the apology offered by the deposed German ruler in this declaration, there are certain assertions, comment and deductions concerning the United States and President Wilson that ought not to go unchallenged. The utterly false statement that there was a "gentlemen's agreement between Great Britain and the United States" which "bound America to the chariot of the Entente, without the knowledge or consent of the American people," is repeated and elaborated. The spokes-

man for the ex-Kaiser makes Professor Usher, who was apparently the inventor of and sole authority for this false statement, state "that Woodrow Wilson was responsible for leading us into war in accordance with an agreement of long standing between the Government of the United States and the powers of the Entente." He adroitly mingles quotations with his own comments in order to strengthen his charge against President Wilson, which he says "seems monstrous" to the American citizen. Not only does the accusation *seem* monstrous; it is monstrous, for it is absolutely untrue and without the faintest shadow of evidence to support it. To impute to Woodrow Wilson such perfidy and disloyalty to his great trust is as outrageous as it is false. His character and conduct are sufficient answer to his accusers, especially when those accusers are William Hohenzollern and his spokesman.

There is an attempt to support this charge of "treason" on the part of the former President by a reference to Joseph P. Tumulty, in whose book, it is declared, is revealed the fact that "Woodrow Wilson was determined from the first to come, if need be, to the rescue of England," and that "he did not dare to show his hand until he had succeeded in 'educating' public

The text of this letter from Earl Grey to the editor reads: "My dear Sir, I regret that I cannot undertake to write an article. As far as I am aware the statement quoted in your letter of Oct. 28, that there was a secret understanding against Germany, between the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan is sheer myth. Nothing of the kind was ever discussed between these four powers. Yours very truly,
"GREY OF FALLODON."

Telephone & Telegrams.
Anebury 56.

Wilsford Manor,
Salisbury

12. 11. 24

My dear Sir

I regret that I
cannot undertake to write
an article. As far as I am
aware the statement quoted
in your letter of October 28,
that there was a secret
understanding between
against Germany, between
the United States, France,
Britain, France & Japan
is sheer myth. Nothing
of the kind was ever dis-
cussed between these four
powers.

Yours truly

Grey of Falloston.

opinion." In my constant and intimate intercourse with Mr. Wilson, during the years of American neutrality, there was never the slightest indication of such an underlying motive to his policies. On the contrary, he sought in every way to keep his mind free from prejudice and to remain in thought, as well as in word and deed, strictly neutral and impartial. His endeavors to bring the war to an end by acting as the friend of both parties were made with honest purpose and with the high hope that they would be successful.

PRESIDENT WILSON RESTRAINED HIS CABINET'S WARLIKE SPIRIT

Personally, I admit, I believed from the first that the United States would enter the war on the side of the Allies, and I felt that it should do so because the conflict seemed to me a struggle between autocracy and democracy, in which the allied powers were champions of human liberty. When I discussed this subject with President Wilson, as I did on more than one occasion, I found him cold and unresponsive. He wished the war to come to an end without awaiting a military decision and he believed that this could be accomplished through his mediation as the spokesman of the most powerful of the neutral nations. If he had had the sinister designs imputed to him in the article here considered, why did he reject the preparedness program of Secretary of War Garrison? Why did he make the attempt to bring about peace in December, 1916? Why did he continue the effort through January, 1917, and up to the time that the renewal of ruthless submarine warfare forced the United States to sever diplomatic relations with Germany?

Even after Count von Bernstorff received his passports, President Wilson continued to hope that he could persuade the belligerents to negotiate peace, for four days after that momentous event he sent me a memorandum on "Bases of Peace" for my comment. In the face

of the folly of the German Government in renewing indiscriminate submarine warfare, Mr. Wilson still believed that he could preserve neutrality and become the mediator between the warring powers. His policy of neutrality was genuine and his efforts for peace were sincere. Several members of his Cabinet, of which I was one, were not in sympathy with his attitude, but, however strongly we felt that the President was wrong in his attitude, loyalty to him as the head of the Government compelled us to support him. It was not, in fact, until the latter part of March that Mr. Wilson reluctantly abandoned hope of mediation and decided, with the unanimous approval of his Cabinet, that the United States had no alternative but to join the Allies in crushing Prussian autocracy and bringing the war to an end by force of arms.

And now, years after those momentous days and after our great war President has passed away and is no longer able to reply to unfounded and absurd accusations, to have petty-minded enemies attempt to brand him as deceitful and dishonest, as disloyal to the American people, whom he loved and served, to hold him up as a scheming intriguer and a treacherous friend, arouses the indignation and contempt of all fair-minded men. It is necessary only to compare the character and career of Woodrow Wilson with the character and career of his traducer to appreciate the greatness of the one and the littleness of the other.

Beyond this elaboration of the attack on Mr. Wilson—a similar attack was originally made in the ex-Kaiser's Memoirs—there is little that is worthy of notice in the ex-Kaiser's declaration. Nevertheless there is something to be learned from this authorized utterance of the character of William Hohenzollern, for some utterances credited to him show what thoughts are in his mind, and some of his phrases are symptomatic of his emotions and desires.

The ex-Kaiser employs the Ciceronian method in discussing his attitude toward absolutism. He declares "I will

not say" this or that, and then proceeds to say what is in his mind, and what he doubtless believes, viz.:

Not until the German people had forced a parliamentary system upon me did the path to the abyss yawn for us. Had I clung to absolutism (I might have argued) matters would never have reached the extremity of armed conflict; we would never have reached the depth of the Versailles dictatorship; we would have remained a free country and a free people.

It is difficult to follow the logic by which it is deduced that the continuance of Prussian absolutism would have made Germany a free country and the Germans a free people. The important

fact, however, is that it demonstrates that the former Kaiser is still an autocrat at heart and still believes that absolutism is the better principle in government. He speaks as an autocrat and by indirection bewails the overthrow of the absolute monarchy with its concentration of powers and its supreme authority over the lives, liberties and fortunes of the German people. His bitterness toward the democratic element in Germany is shown by his frequent attacks upon the Socialist Party at Berlin. The words "Germany would have won an honorable peace had it not been for the Socialist 'stab in the back'" express his antipathy to the en-

Paris 11 Nov 1924

Mon cher Confrère,

Je ne puis que vous remercier de votre aimable proposition, mais je ne considère pas que les propos de l'Ex-Kaiser soient dignes d'une réponse.

Je vous prie d'agréer mes meilleurs sentiments

G. Clemenceau

The following is the text of M. Clemenceau's letter to the editor:

Paris. 11 Nov., 1924.

"Mon cher Confrère, Je ne puis que vous remercier de votre aimable proposition, mais je ne considère pas que les propos de l'Ex-Kaiser soient dignes d'une réponse. Je vous prie d'agréer mes meilleurs sentiments. G. CLEMENCEAU."

The following is a translation: "My dear Confrère, I thank you for your kind proposal, but I do not consider that the utterances of the ex-Kaiser are worthy of a reply. Please accept my kindest regards. G. CLEMENCEAU."

emies of absolutism. He shows also that it was because of the strength and menace of the Socialists that he relinquished the imperial crown and fled into the Netherlands. He sees everything through the eyes of an autocrat. To him democracy and all liberal political theories are anathema.

It is significant in this connection that the spokesman, in giving in his own words the ex-Kaiser's opinion as to the underlying causes of the war, says: "Russia's action was precipitated by her desire to use foreign warfare as a safety valve to prevent an explosion at home." Doubtless the former Emperor used these words, or similar ones, not because he had proof of their truth but because he himself had been faced with a similar situation and had adopted the very remedy which he asserts was used by the imperialists of Russia. The democratic groups in the Reichstag had been for years growing stronger and more defiant. It was only a question of a short time before they would become dominant and wrest the supreme power from the imperial throne. Before that crisis arose, before the "explosion" took place, something had to be done to win the people away from the heresy of liberalism. The way to regain their loyalty to the imperial system and to awaken a new devotion to the Emperor was to engage in a foreign war. A victorious war would vindicate Prussianism and restore the imperialists to popular favor. With a desire for war, a pretext was not difficult to find. If the German arms had triumphed, all would have been well for the Hohenzollerns, but with defeat the people of Germany again awoke to the evils of absolutism and replaced the discredited imperial Government with a republic.

FEEBLE EXCUSES FOR IGNOBLE FLIGHT

Throughout the ex-Kaiser's declaration one senses the exile's feeling of humiliation that he fled from the Allies and also from the German people and sought refuge in a neutral country rather than face his enemies at home and abroad. Excuses made in his

"Memoirs" are repeated and new ones conjured up in an endeavor to justify his flight and to remove, if possible, the stigma of pusillanimity which has been his since his escape across the Netherlands border. It will be hard to convince the world that William Hohenzollern is a courageous man or that it was not his personal safety which was first in his mind when he abdicated the imperial throne and went into voluntary exile. The world is not generous in its opinion of a ruler, or a public man, whom it believes to be a coward. It seldom feels compassion for one who refuses to meet the consequences of his own public acts. The former German Emperor apparently devotes most of the time of his unhappy exile to endeavoring to convince himself and others that his course was induced by the highest humanitarian motives, and that his own personal interests played no part in his abandonment of his throne and country. Thus far he has failed to persuade mankind that he possesses a heroic spirit, or that he suffers patiently as a martyr to the hate of his enemies. It will take more than specious arguments of a sympathetic advocate and the protestations of a fugitive seeking vindication to change the verdict which universal public opinion has rendered in the case of William Hohenzollern.

Even in Germany, where, if anywhere, the thoughts and opinions of her former ruler would presumably be received with respect and given a measure of publicity, the ex-Kaiser complains that his utterances are ignored. The following, which appears in one of the quotations taken from "Events and Figures," is repeated by the ex-Kaiser's spokesman as a part of his article:

It is lamentable that the German people got such slight benefit out of my cooperation in the attempt to explode the war-guilt lies. That was a problem the solution of which is even more important than the solution of all domestic problems—a problem to which I devote many free hours of the day and many an hour of the night. I daily go through the leading newspapers of our opponents in the war. I read every book or pamphlet which concerns itself with the question of war guilt. Since

coming to Holland, no day passes without my sifting the material I daily find and collating it with my own hand, arranging it and comparing it assiduously. I have sent this material to Germany. The German press concerns itself with these things not at all, or only very casually.

The implication in these words is that the German press takes no interest to-day in the subject of "war guilt," but gives itself to domestic questions. Another and more plausible interpretation is that the German press, knowing the mind of the German people, sees no good to be gained by publishing material received from Doorn. The people of post-war Germany are not interested in the comments and opinions of their former Emperor. Arguments, however sound, and affirmations, however true, would be discredited if they emanated from that source. It would be difficult to convince democratic Germany that the Prussian fugitive was not seeking to justify the Imperial Government as a first step toward the restoration of the aristocracy overthrown by the German people at the end of the war. They have suffered enough from Prussianism. They will not again submit to the shackles of imperialism.

VERDICT ON THE KAISER REMAINS UNCHANGED

One might, in analyzing this official statement, repeat the comments and criticisms which were invited by the ex-Kaiser when he put forth his "Memoirs," but to do so would be, as I have already said, needless duplication. The charges, the speculations and the false statements appearing in this recent expression are old ammunition fired, in effect, two years ago. They did little

damage then; they will do less damage now. They may give satisfaction to a few partisans of Imperial Germany, who are only too willing to have their beliefs renewed, but the bulk of mankind will hold firmly to its opinion of the Prussian militarists and their autocratic leader. The time for appeal has passed.

The foregoing comments on this "capital essay," as the ex-Kaiser terms the article in authorizing its publication without amendment, may seem harsh and caustic, but it is by no means easy to preserve one's temper or to resist the natural impulse to retort in kind when reading the repeated slanders of the late President Wilson. Loyalty and patriotism rebel at the thought that an enemy embittered by defeat and exile can, through the medium of an American writer, again vilify and abuse our dead President, who led this country to victory over Prussianized Germany. The American people have heard enough from the ex-Kaiser. It is to be hoped that for the future the falsehoods and misrepresentations, the peevish complaints and illogical defenses of the once powerful Emperor of Germany, will remain buried in silence. The feeble voice of William Hohenzollern raised in protest can make no impression on the opinion of mankind. The case is closed and will not be reopened. The verdict of "guilty" has been passed by the present generation upon the militaristic Government of Germany, and that verdict will stand through the coming years as a monument to the colossal folly of the last of the Hohenzollern dynasty, who sits in exile among the ashes of his shattered hopes and ambitions.

China in Chaos

By F. L. HAWKS POTT

President of St. John's University, Shanghai

WITH INTRODUCTION BY ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University

NO Westerner has exercised a greater influence upon Young China than President Pott, nor is there one better qualified to discuss things Chinese. He is one of the few Westerners who have acquired a sufficient command of written as well as spoken Chinese to qualify as a Chinese scholar; and he has published a number of books upon Chinese history, including an excellent "Sketch of Chinese History."

Dr. Pott is a graduate of Columbia University of the class of '83, a graduate of the General Theological Seminary and a Doctor of Divinity of Trinity College. He has been President of St. John's University, Shanghai, China, since 1888. In 1910 he was elected Missionary Bishop of Wuhu, but declined to give up his university work.

Since Oct. 14, 1924, when President Pott wrote the article which follows, events have crowded fast upon one another in China.

"Through the disloyalty of the 'Christian General,' Feng Yu-hsiang," to quote the Japan Advertiser, "victory has perched on the banners of Marshal Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria, and through him Tuan Chi-jui has become the master of the Chinese Government."

The full story of Wu Pei-fu's overthrow and of Tuan Chi-jui's return to Peking is too long for recital here; but we know that after a prolonged parley among leading military chieftains, Chang Tso-lin, Feng Yu-hsiang, Su Yung-hsiang and Tuan Chi-jui, at Tientsin, a Peking dispatch announced: "Marshal Tuan Chi-jui has at last consented to come to Peking, though the date of the move is not yet fixed. * * * Tuan's decision was reached after the representations of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, General Hu Shing-yi and Sun Yuet, and other prominent members of the anti-Chili groups. It was also a result of the persuasion of Marshal Chang Tso-lin, who urged him to go to the capital as 'Generalissimo.'"

Tuan's entrance into the ancient capital was, however, delayed for several weeks, during which there was some fighting and much

conferring of leaders, as the result of which on Nov. 4 President Tsao Kun announced his resignation; and three days later the "Boy Emperor," Hsuan Tung, was ordered by Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang to vacate his quarters in the Forbidden City. The young monarch at once obeyed and took up his residence in the home of his father, Prince Chun.

Uneasiness as to possible eventualities, however, caused Hsuan on Nov. 29 to seek sanctuary in the Japanese Embassy in Peking. "Hsuan Tung's status," said a Peking dispatch of Dec. 1 to the Japanese Advertiser, "is that of an ordinary Chinese now. Therefore, the Chinese Government has no opening for a protest against his movements." This was especially true in view of the fact that the exile was the personal guest of the Japanese Minister.

The "Big Three," Chang Tso-lin, dictator of Manchuria; Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian General," and Tuan Chi-jui, former Premier, approached Peking from Tientsin on Nov. 22, prepared to set up a unified government for China. Tuan was preceded by 3,000 of General Chang's troops, and Generals Chang and Feng followed by special trains, with large escorts. On the same day it was semi-officially announced that Tuan had offered the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to Tang Shao-yi; and on Nov. 24 Sun Yat-sen, who had just reached Kobe, issued a statement to the effect that "Marshal Tuan Chi-jui is the only man capable of unifying China at present." Dr. Sun was then on his way to Peking to join

Francis Lister Hawks Pott, a graduate of Columbia University and the General Theological Seminary, was ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church and entered upon religious and educational work in China. He was appointed President of St. John's University, Shanghai, in 1888. Elected missionary bishop of Wuhu, China, in 1910, he declined the position. He has translated the following works into Chinese: "Commentary on the Apostles' Creed," "Science Primer," "Physical Geography," "Life of Christ," "Parables of Christ," "Extension of the Kingdom of Heaven," and "Life of Alexander Hamilton." He is also the author of "A Sketch of Chinese History" and "The Emergency in China."

Tuan Chi-jui; and the Japanese Foreign Office explained that his presence in Japan had no political significance.

Tuan Chi-jui was inaugurated Chief Executive of China on Nov. 24, and the next day it was announced that Feng Yu-hsiang had decided to retire from active service and would transfer the control of his forces to the Minister of War.

Thus the conflict has left Marshal Chang Tso-lin the most powerful individual in China: but he has wisely decided that his ends will best be conserved not by taking political office himself, but by seeing that friends rather than enemies occupy the high places. He has repeatedly declared that, once an honest and efficient Government is installed at Pe-

king, he will withdraw to Mukden and devote himself to his own particular sphere, the three provinces that make up Manchuria.

Since the above paragraph was written a dispatch has arrived by wireless from Peking declaring: "Although Chang Tso-lin has withdrawn all his forces from Peking, it is understood that he will maintain important detachments at several points on the Tientsin Railway, the nearest to be at Fengtai, only eight miles from here. Chang continues to oppose Tuan Chi-jui on the subject of a possible conflict with Feng Yu-hsiang. The Empress, with the Second Consort, with the consent of Tuan Chi-jui, went to the Japanese Legation yesterday (Dec. 2) and joined the Emperor there."

IF we would understand the present situation in China, it is necessary to take a brief review of the sequence of events from the time of the revolution in 1911. The long series of humiliations experienced by China during the latter part of the Manchu Dynasty, the shameless corruption in the Government, and the delay in carrying out the promises of granting a Constitution, all made the people ready to welcome a change.

Secret societies, established by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and others who had come under the influence of Western political thought, plotted the overthrow of the Manchus. When the Peking Government undertook the building of the railroad to the extreme western province of Szechuen, there was a great outcry, because it seemed that the construction of the railroads by the Government was intended for military purposes, in order to keep the country in subjection. The revolution broke out prematurely, but being supported by public opinion, proved a success, and in a short time the central and southern provinces declared their independence.

Partly on account of the influence of American ideals, and partly because there was no one among the Chinese leaders who had a legitimate claim to the throne, the establishment of the republic was decided upon. But the country was totally unprepared for such a radical break with the past. Lack of

communication between widely separated parts of the country, the illiteracy of 90 per cent. of the population, and the entire lack of experience in representative government, were enough in themselves to furnish almost insurmountable difficulties.

Nothing is more pernicious in history than false analogies. Over and over again it is argued, if after the war of the American Revolution, the United States, after passing through a period of disorder and confusion, established a constitutional government, it might be expected that China could do the same after her revolution. The differences between the two situations are manifold. In the first instance, the United States had a small population dwelling in one part of the country on the Atlantic border, possessing considerable education, and experienced in the principles of English government. In the second instance, China had a vast population spread over a wide area, mostly illiterate, accustomed only to a patriarchal form of government.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen became the first provisional President of the Chinese Republic and established his Government in Nanking. In order to avoid a struggle with Yuan Shih-kai, who controlled the northern provinces, the Chinese, who are past masters in compromise, agreed to make him the first President of the Republic provided he would desert the Manchu cause. From the beginning

President Yuan never believed in the Republic. He managed to arrange matters so that Peking should remain the capital, although it had been agreed that the seat of Government should be removed to Nanking. He came to cross purposes immediately with the National Convention in regard to the powers to be allowed to the President by the proposed Constitution, and as to the control over the Cabinet. The urgent need of funds led him to negotiate loans without the consent of the National Convention.

The ultra-radicals (the Kuomin Lang Party) soon saw that they had made a mistake in putting Yuan into office and attempted to start a second revolution



YUAN SHIH-KAI

The first elected President of the Chinese Republic

in 1913. This did not receive the hearty support of the merchants or of the people and soon collapsed. From that period on, President Yuan proceeded to make himself a military dictator. In order to keep the country in submission, he appointed military governors or Tuchuns over the provinces. These men owed allegiance to him and completely overshadowed the provincial civil Governments. An attempt by Yuan to make himself Emperor occurred in 1915. It was generally supposed that his design was frustrated by Japanese machinations. At all events another revolution was threatened and Yuan abandoned his project. At his death, which occurred shortly afterward, the fatal results of his military policy became apparent. Without a strong man at the head of the Government, the military Governors of the provinces began a strife among themselves for supremacy. Coming to the period of the tuchunate in China, we find that it is responsible for the present chaotic condition of affairs. President Li Yuan-hung, who succeeded Yuan, had no knowledge of statecraft and was entirely in the hands of the Tuchuns.

EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR

The World War had serious consequences for China. In the first place, it led to the taking of Kiaochow from the Germans by the Japanese and the attempt on the part of Japan to retain possession of it. Secondly, it gave Japan the opportunity to make the famous twenty-one demands on China while European nations were engaged in a death-struggle and unable to interfere. Thirdly, it enabled Japan to bargain with Great Britain, France and Russia in regard to Kiaochow, getting these Governments to agree to in return for her loyalty to the allied cause they would raise no objection to her retaining Kiaochow after the war was over. Fourthly, it led to the troubles that arose in regard to China breaking off relations with Germany and participating in the war. The breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany was due to the

influence of the United States, and was agreed to by Parliament. Serious contention arose over the question of declaring war against Germany. Parliament refused to take this step, and in consequence was dissolved.

This illegal dissolution brought about a division between the North and the South, or the militarists and constitutionalists. The members of the dissolved Parliament reassembled in Canton, and a new Government, of which Sun Yat-sen eventually became President, was established. The break-up of the country in this way was not the only disastrous result of the dissolution of Parliament. It led to further usurpation of power by the Tuchuns, so that thereafter the President and Parliament became nothing more than figureheads.

Undoubtedly one of the reasons leading China to declare war against Germany was the hope that she would be entitled to a seat at the Peace Conference, and would be able to make a demand for the return of Kiaochow. As is well known she was bitterly disappointed at the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and refused to ratify them. The United States has been blamed for using its influence in persuading China to join the allied nations, and accused of betraying her. This is an unjust criticism. The secret pacts made by Great Britain, France and Russia with Japan in regard to the retention of Kiaochow after the war were entirely unknown to President Wilson or to the United States Government. America's representatives in China acted in good faith and sincerely believed that by taking this step China would improve her standing among the nations. The feeling against Japan rose to the boiling point when China discovered she had been duped, and a student uprising throughout the country against the pro-Japanese party in the Government was a striking evidence of a growing national consciousness.

In the meantime the struggle for supremacy among the Tuchuns continued. For a time Tuan Chi-jui and the so-called Anfu party dominated the Gov-



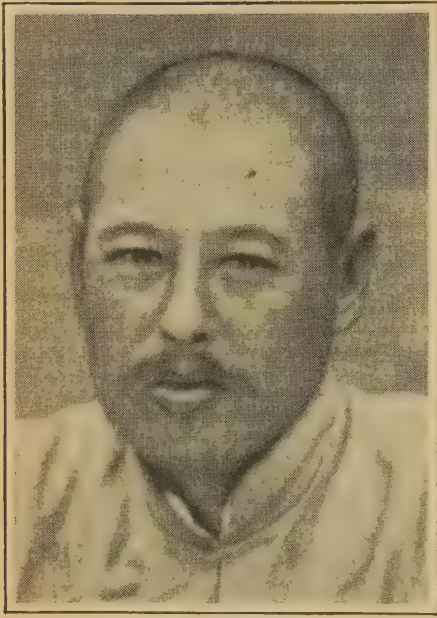
International

LI YUAN-HUNG

Successor to Yuan Shih-kai as President of China

ernment. The Chihli Tuchuns—Generals Tsaö Kun and Wu Pei-fu—and the Fengtien (Mukden) Tuchun—General Chang Tso-lin—combined forces and succeeded in ousting the Anfu party. The real fighting was done by General Wu Pei-fu's army. After a short time jealousy between Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin brought about a rupture between them and led to hostilities in 1922, with the result that the army of Chang Tso-lin was defeated and forced to retire into Manchuria. By the support of Wu Pei-fu and by the use of bribery General Tsaö Kun was installed as President on Nov. 8, 1923.

The experiment of establishing a government in the South on more constitutional lines has not proved the success anticipated. Noted American scholars like Dr. John Dewey visited Canton and were quite captivated by the evident signs of progress. Dissension between President Sun Yat-sen and General Ch'en Ch'ung-ming broke out in regard to the



WU PEI-FU

The General whose army has controlled the Peking Government

aggressive policy that President Sun wished to adopt in forcing other Southern Provinces to join with Canton. The civil war waged between these two men has had disastrous consequences. It has led to the employment of a vast army of mercenary soldiers, and to the grinding down of the people by taxation. A recent visit to Canton revealed the fact that the promise of reform had vanished. The militarists surrounding Dr. Sun had gained control and constitutional government was conspicuous by its absence.

China was invited to take part in the Washington Conference in 1921, and at that time the preservation of peace in the Far East was a subject that received much consideration. There was a sincere desire on the part of the United States and Great Britain to improve China's position among the nations, and to remove all hindrances to her entering upon the path of progress, nationally, economically and socially. By the influence of the United States and Great Britain, China and Japan were persuaded to

come to an agreement in regard to Kiaochow, and, with certain conditions, Japan finally consented to return this territory. The railroad between Kiaochow and Tsinan was left partly under the control of Japan until China pays the price of its redemption. This disturbing factor in the Eastern situation was thus removed, but other questions likely sooner or later to produce trouble between the two countries, such as Japanese control in South Manchuria and Inner Eastern Mongolia were left unsettled.

The Washington Conference agreed to the removal of many of China's disabilities and the ultimate abolition of certain infringements upon her sovereign rights. Unfortunately the internal disorder in China has delayed the obtaining of the privileges which Western nations were willing to concede. Her inability to maintain order in her own territories and the weakness of her central Government were soon made evident by the holding up of a train on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway at Lincheng on the border of Kiangsu and Shantung provinces in May, 1923, and the kidnapping of a large number of foreign passengers, who were confined by bandits on the top of a mountain for thirty-eight days. This incident made foreign powers disinclined to consider the subject of doing away with extraterritorial rights.

POLITICAL CHAOS

At the present moment (this is written on Oct. 14, 1924), China politically is in a state of chaos. In Peking we find President Tsao Kun, who has obtained his office by bribery, and who is only able to hold it because of the support of General Wu Pei-fu, a Parliament that does not really function, and a Cabinet that is shuffled and reshuffled continuously by the Tuchuns. The central Government is threatened with bankruptcy. The revenues from the customs and the salt gabelle are pledged for the payment of interest on foreign loans, and leave but little surplus for ordinary expenditure. A large portion of the rev-

enues of the Provinces is held back by the military Governors, or Tuchuns, for the support of their armies, and the portion that reaches Peking is also used for military purposes. There is no money for building railroads, for internal improvements, and for education. The municipal Government of Peking itself is supported by the octroi collected from goods coming in and going out of the capital. Provincial assemblies have also largely ceased to function, and the government in the Provinces is that of military dictatorship. Banditry is rife throughout the country, and the Tuchuns are unable or unwilling to suppress it. Many of the bandits are ex-soldiers who have deserted because of their pay being in arrears. The Tuchuns, whenever they can afford to do so, are anxious to re-enlist these men and therefore deem it inadvisable to crush them out of existence.

Wu Pei-fu is the most powerful of the Tuchuns in China proper. He is the head of what is known as the Chihli

Party, and through the military Governors who are his supporters has gained control in Chihli, Shantung, Honan, Shansi, Anhwei and Kiangsu. Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Szechuen and Fukien have recently been brought into the fold of the Chihli Party, but in some of these Provinces the control is more nominal than real. Opposed to this combination are Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow and Yunnan Provinces in the South. Although General Sun Yat-sen has attempted to rule over them, he has never really succeeded in doing so. In fact, as we have pointed out, his position in Kwangtung is very insecure, owing to the opposition of General Ch'en Chiung-ming, his former subordinate. The Province of Chekiang on the eastern seaboard has refused all along to submit to General Wu Pei-fu, and has regarded itself as autonomous. In Manchuria General Chang Tso-lin, since his defeat by Wu Pei-fu, has been making himself very powerful and he is now known as the War Lord of Manchuria.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Turning to economic conditions, we find them in some ways very unsatisfactory. About twenty-five years ago China entered upon a new industrial period, and it seemed to be on the eve of an industrial revolution. Machinery was largely introduced, and mills and factories increased rapidly. Large projects were on foot for the building of railroads and for increasing means of transportation, and there was considerable activity in mining and the development of the natural resources of the country. There have been two great setbacks to this movement. The first was the exploitation by foreign capitalists, with the desire of developing industries, building railways, and opening mines with foreign capital, bringing these enterprises more or less under foreign control. The other great setback has, of course, been the disturbed condition of the country.

The economic penetration of China has been one of the objects of Japanese policy and has proceeded much further



CHANG TSO-LIN
The war lord of Manchuria



TSAO KUN

Until recently President of the Chinese Republic

than is generally known. The process by which China comes more and more under the control of foreign capitalists is briefly this: Large sums of money are borrowed, with the understanding that the creditors shall have a share in the management. When financial difficulties arise and the Chinese are unable to meet their obligations, the plant of the industry is mortgaged to the creditors. For instance, one of China's richest sources of wealth, the Han-yeh-ping Iron and Steel Works in Hankow, Central China, is now controlled by the Japanese. "By the agreement between China and Japan in May, 1915, the Chinese Government undertook not to convert the company into a State-owned concern

nor to compel it to borrow money from other than Japanese sources." There is a Japanese accountant and a Japanese technical adviser, and pig-iron and ore up to a specified value must be sold to the Imperial Japanese Works at much below the market price. As an example of what Chinese capital can accomplish, when freed from foreign control, one may point to the remarkable development of industries in the City of Nantung Chow, known as the model city.

As has already been explained, the Government has no money for public improvements, even if it were inclined to take them up. The offer of loans from the consortium has not been welcomed, as the foreign supervision of the expenditure of the money would hinder its being diverted into the channels where the Tuchuns would like to use it most, namely in the support of their armies. Private capitalists naturally are timid in regard to investing money in large enterprises at such a time, and we find that the successful industrial enterprises are conducted in the foreign settlements where there is greater security for property.

The economic changes taking place in China naturally lead up to social changes. These are due largely to the influx of Western ideas and lead to a breakdown in the old social restraints and sanctions. What the sociologist calls cross-fertilization is taking place rapidly and is having the same effect in China as it has had elsewhere. It is more marked in this country because of China's long isolation from the rest of the world and her deep-rooted conservatism. Everything is in flux, and habits and customs are changing rapidly. The older generation is appalled by the departure from the safe old paths and now and again one sees evidence of reaction and an attempt to hold on to ancient traditions. The same thing is taking place in China as took place in England in the eighteenth century—the flocking of people to the cities to work in the factories and the consequent shifting of population from the country to the city. In this new industrial era the evils of

the factory system make their appearance and give rise to serious questioning as to how they are to be obviated. Although China is still in the days of beginnings, the laborers already are learning to organize and strikes are becoming frequent. The capitalistic system in industry tends to bring about the same conditions in China as in the West, and will not be an unmixed blessing.

Russia has been attempting to influence China in favor of Bolshevism, and has sent her missionaries to preach the new doctrine, and the question is sometimes asked, Is there danger of China following in the footsteps of Russia? It seems to me that China will escape this peril. In a country where there is peasant ownership of land on quite a large scale, and where 90 per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture, we do not find the conditions which favor the spread of Bolshevism. Furthermore, the Chinese peasant has never passed through serfdom and has never been heavily taxed. He is contented on the whole with his present condition.

A social evil closely connected with the political chaos to which we should refer is the recrudescence of the plant-

ing of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium. The Tuchuns permit the poppy to be planted because they can derive a considerable revenue by taxing the farmers who grow it. The great work of reform carried on so vigorously in China against the opium evil is now in danger of being undone.

THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION

Finally, we would refer to the intellectual revolution. It is sometimes referred to as the renaissance, but it might more fittingly be compared to the period of enlightenment or rationalism that took place in Europe in the eighteenth century. It is due, not to the rediscovery of humanistic studies, but to the rapid introduction of Western science. Its effects are skepticism, materialism, the revolt against authority, and the growth of individualism.

The intellectual revolution can be considered first from the standpoint of the introduction of the new education, dating from 1905. The attempt has been made to establish a modern system of education from the kindergarten up to the university and considerable progress has been made. It is estimated that there are 6,000,000 students of all grades in the schools and colleges. Compulsory education of the young has not been introduced and probably cannot be introduced, owing to economic conditions. The problem of educating China is an enormous one, when we take into consideration its vast population, and the very large percentage of illiteracy. It is estimated that 90 per cent. of the people are illiterate. Schools should be provided for some 40,000,000 students, if all those of school age are to receive an education. There is much that is inefficient in the schools as they exist today. Discipline is lacking, and well-qualified teachers are scarce. Primary education is carried on more efficiently than secondary education. The great need of China at the present time is for the efficient middle (high) school. This has been pointed out by Dr. Paul Monroe.



TUAN CHI-JUI
The new President of China



SUN YAT-SEN

Head of the Government of South China

who has made a careful study of the educational conditions in China. Owing to the break-down in Government and the squandering of money for military purposes, the development of the school system has been greatly handicapped. Salaries of teachers are in arrears and many schools have been closed. As the Government system fails to function there is a most laudable attempt to supply the deficiency by the establishment of private schools, and considerable gifts have recently been made for this object by wealthy Chinese philanthropists.

From another point of view, the intellectual revolution in China has produced what is known as the new thought movement. Men who have been educated abroad are the leaders. The new ideas are spread by the publication of magazines, and the forming of societies for the discussion of a wide range of subjects. The new movement has advocated the introduction of the common

speech of the people (pei hua) in their publications in the place of the old literary style, so that knowledge may be more easily disseminated. Many of the leaders are thoroughgoing free thinkers, and welcome eagerly the most radical thought from the West. They are pragmatists in philosophy and apply the test of practical value to all beliefs, customs and social institutions. One of the striking features of the intellectual situation in China today is that there are two distinct streams of mentality—the one radical, progressive, modern and fearless; the other conservative, medieval and timid; and the two streams do not converge. The Tutchuns, for instance, are thinking in the same terms as their forefathers of the Middle Ages. Their political and social ideas are similar to those held a thousand years ago. The young men of the free thought movement are thinking much in the same way as advanced reformers in the West. If China is considered as a whole, with its vast population, it must be confessed that outside the great cities the mentality or the soul of the people in its outlook on life has not greatly changed. The change cannot come until education in the schools has had time to raise up a new generation with new ideas and ideals.

In connection with the intellectual revolution in China it is customary to make light of the part played by Christian missions, but if looked at in an unbiased way it would become apparent that the contribution has not been a small one but one that has had a remarkable influence. Christian schools, apart from their distinctively religious work, were undoubtedly pioneers in the spread of more rational thought in regard to nature, and in the introduction of the study of the history, customs and thought of other peoples. The Christian preacher has spread new ideas in regard to the value of the individual and the brotherhood of men, and has sown the seeds of democratic thought.

Having described the conditions in China, let us now turn to present events and see if we can get a clear under-

standing of what is happening. As has been pointed out, there are four principal parties—the Chihli Party, that of Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria, Sun Yat-sen in the South, and Chekiang on the eastern coast. There has been constant friction between the Governments of Chekiang and Kiangsu, due largely to the fact that the Woosung forts at the entrance to the harbor of Shanghai and the military arsenal at Lunghwa, just out of Shanghai (both of which are in Kiangsu), and the police force of Shanghai are under the control of a special Defense Commissioner who belongs to the Chekiang Party. Sooner or later there was bound to be a conflict between these two Governments. The immediate cause of the rupture was the suspicion aroused by the military Governor of Chekiang, General Lu Yung-hsiang receiving into his army some regiments of soldiers who had fled from Fukien. This seemed to indicate that he was increasing his military force with hostile designs. General Chi Hsieh-yuan was appointed over the Kiangsu forces and instructed by Wu Pei-fu to attack him. Thus what is rapidly developing into a great civil war had its origin in the struggle between the Governments of two provinces.

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities in September, 1924, each of the opposing Generals issued proclamations,

setting forth their reasons for going to war. Generals Wu Pei-fu and Chi Hsieh-yuan of the Chihli Party stated that they were determined to overthrow the so-called independent government of Chekiang Province. General Lu Yung-

hsiang announced that his purpose was to oust Tsao Kun from the Presidency, referring to him as one who had obtained his position illegally through bribery. It is to be remembered that General Lu belonged to the former Anfu Party. The conflict could not be confined to the strife between these two Tuchuns. General Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria espoused the cause of General Lu of Chekiang, and is now engaged in a conflict with General Wu Pei-fu. General Sun Yat-sen in the South has also issued a manifesto against the Chihli Party and declared his intention of leading an expedition to the North to assist Chekiang and to overthrow the Peking Government. Owing to dissension in Canton and the struggle between Sun Yat-sen and Ch'en Ch'ung-ming, it is extremely unlikely that he will be able to render any assistance.

Hence the four parties now are reduced to two, each with a differ-

ent theory in regard to the government of China. General Wu Pei-fu and his associates of the Chihli Party advocate a strong Central Government, of a militaristic nature, and are ready to subdue



Wide World

GEN. CH'EN CH'UNG-MING
Rival leader to Sun Yat-Sen in
South China

all the Provinces by force, much in the way the Generals in the past have done when founding a new dynasty. General Lu Yung-hsiang declared that he was fighting for the establishment of a loosely federated government, allowing a large amount of autonomy to the separate Provinces. This plan of a loose federation has gained in popularity in China in recent years, and is advocated by Bertrand Russell in his book, "The Problem of China."

General Chang Tso-lin has announced his desire to remove Tsao Kun as President, and to put General Tuan Chi-jui in his place. This proposal is somewhat ominous, as Tuan was formerly head of the Anfu Party, and was suspected of being strongly pro-Japanese. After all, we must conclude that the chief cause of the strife is militarism, the personal ambitions of the super-Tuchuns, and that other principles play but a minor part. Although General Lu Yung-hsiang's forces have been defeated, and he and the Defense Commission have fled to Japan, it is too soon yet to know what the ultimate consequences of the struggle will be. Some are optimistic, and believe that at the close of the period of strife, a better government will be established, and that permanent peace will be secured. Others are pessimistic and regard the war as a prelude to the break-up of China.

The problem of China is one of the greatest of the present century. The equilibrium of its civilization has been upset and the present confusion and anarchy are not to be wondered at. On the one hand, we need to avoid false sentimentality and superficial views. Many

writers indulge in dreams of China becoming a great republic in a few years, whereas it may take a century for her to develop a stable form of government. Visitors to China get roseate views of the future by conferences with the young intellectuals and take the ideas of these men as typical of the mentality of the whole country. The problem is how a medieval civilization may develop into one that is modern, adapted to function so as to meet the new environment into which China has been forced to enter. On the other hand, we must avoid a feeling of hopelessness and despair. The leaven of new thought is working in China and in course of time the whole lump will be leavened. At the present time, the wisest policy for Western nations to adopt will be that of non-interference. Even if that god of Western nations—commerce—suffers, we must be willing to wait and let China settle her own quarrel. There has been too much interference in the past, some of it well meaning, but yet injurious. We must recognize that foreign aggression is partly responsible for China's sad plight and that foreign nations have done much to restrict her liberty and make it difficult for China to advance. When the war ends we may have the opportunity of helping China get on her feet again. Let us hope that we will show real altruism and not one that seeks a *quid pro quo*. Furthermore, let us hope that the days of taking advantage of China's weakness are over. That is a large hope, but only through its realization can China be saved, and the rest of the world kept from drifting into a war between East and West.

The Making of the Chinese Soldier

By PERCIVAL FINCH

Newspaper Correspondent on Three Fronts in the Recent War in China

EVER since the world heard that Chinese soldiers go to war with paper umbrellas slung over their shoulders alongside their rifles, and that bargaining for desertion at so many dollars a head is an accepted feature of modern warfare, a Chinese war has been regarded as a travesty and Chinese soldiers as an even richer source of humor.

It must be admitted that the facts as reported are more or less correct. The use of armies in Chinese wars is so closely bound up with the political game that a victory on the battlefield is a very rare occurrence: men are massed and guns are fired merely as an adjunct to the political bargaining of one leader with another. The Chinese fighting man has no stirring calls of principle or patriotism to answer when he mans the trenches. Fighting—or belonging to any one of the armies—is his living. The Chinese soldier is no more anxious than any other soldier to have himself killed for \$10 a month. Then again, everybody is involved in some political scheme; the wheels within wheels of political complications involve the common soldier and the Tuchun himself, with the result that money is the motive power in every enterprise.

All these facts, to the truth of which I can testify by actual experience, have had their bearing on the world's estimate of the Chinese soldier, and the result is that the estimate is very low. Another war, fought on traditional lines, has been witnessed in China and contributed, as usual, to the gayety of nations. In the north Marshal Wu Pei-fu and Marshal Chang Tso-lin put 300,000 men in the field, equipped with every modern device of warfare from rifles to

poison gas (which, however, was not used), armored cars, airplanes and propaganda, both in the press and disseminated by dropping from the skies. In the south Marshal Chi Hsieh-yuan, Tuchun of Kiangsu, and General Lu Yung-hsiang, Tupan of Chekiang, strung 100,000 well-equipped fighting men in a line across the province outside Shanghai. In each case, war was merely a minor issue, although it provided sensational headlines for some time. Inevitably politics, treachery, defection and desertion sprang to the fore and "arrangements" affected superb victories without any remarkably large casualty list. The Kiangsu victory was a model. The clink of "cash" did more than forty days of hard fighting, and the result was that General Lu gathered his staff and fled to Japan, while the whole of his army was bought over by the victors at the rate of twenty Mexican dollars per gun.

All this obscures the major question: Can a Chinese soldier fight? The truth is that the Chinese soldier, despite what the world thinks of him, is much maligned. Considering that he rarely sees a rifle range, hardly knows the breech of a gun from the muzzle, receives little training beyond what is necessary to make him a fairly respectable member of the company and give him a military bearing, he should be given credit for daring to use the products of Western military science which in the West are used only by men of long and intensive training. As a soldier capable of undergoing the rigors and hardships of a campaign, the Chinese is unsurpassed, the struggle for existence which marks the lives of millions in the north, where the soldiers are

recruited, turning out a product which in respect to endurance and fortitude far surpasses the product of the West.

Sixty years ago General Charles G. Gordon (1833-1885), the British officer who became famous under the name of "Chinese Gordon" and who took over the command of the "Ever Victorious Army" during the Taiping rebellion, said that, properly trained, properly led and properly equipped, the Chinese soldier was the equal of any other soldier. Gordon knew his men, for he recruited a force of several thousand Chinese and completely routed the Taiping rebels in the very district where the Kiangsu and Chekiang armies recently fought, and shattered the whole rebel movement.

In the recent war there were abundant signs of the quality of Chinese fighting material. When the Kiangsu and Chekiang armies opened hostilities outside Shanghai on Sept. 3 a good many people saw their estimate of the Chinese as a soldier begin to disappear with the smoke of the guns. He revealed astonishing fighting abilities, including the ability to use modern agencies of warfare, and even showed that he could learn to shoot. But these achievements were overclouded by the evil features of the Chinese army, which is purely a mercenary institution providing a living for a small section of the 400,000,000 supposedly peace-loving people who will take up arms. It is national in no sense. It is an agglomeration of provincial armies used to maintain the will or ambition of their employers, the Tuchuns or Civil Governors. Each provincial army is composed of a number of small units—the mixed brigade is the popular unit—but no thread of nationalism or patriotism knits them together. Loyalty and obedience extend no further than the unit commander, who must find them their pay. It is, however, a fact worthy of notice that though Chinese troops will unblushingly desert a provincial cause they often show stanch loyalty to their immediate leader, as in the case of General Lu Yung-hsiang's Shantung troops, who stuck to him until the end. Gen-

erally, if a Tuchun wants to make war on an enemy he must collect a number of these units by placating the commanders and paying the men. As the recent war showed, however, the loyalty of the commanders to their common leader is usually transient and easily affected by better terms from the other side, or petty quarrels with the leader.

CHINA'S MOTLEY ARMIES

The Chinese armies are chiefly recruited in the northern Provinces of Chihli, Shantung and Hupeh, where army life, guaranteeing food, clothes, shelter and more or less regular pay, with scanty concern for other people's property, is as much a profession as pulling a 'ricksha or pushing a wheelbarrow. The type of man who joins is generally of the coolie type, with the coolie's limited intelligence, ignorant, low and coarse, whose civilian life generally is one of loafing and thieving; many who join are former members of bandit gangs. The soldier type is sharply distinguished from the progressive type of Chinese, or the toiling masses whose lives are a daily round of work and peace. Walking among Chinese soldiers brings to mind anthropological studies, pictures of the low type of man, with bestial features. There are no strict qualifications of height, age or health, except in the personal bodyguards, such as Marshal Chi's Sixth Division and General Lu's Tenth Division, whose sole responsibility is the Tuchun's safety. In the ranks fourteen-year-old boys fight with wrinkled veterans. In the recent war men who served in the imperial armies and the revolutionary mobs were found together. The grizzled warriors from the regiment of Chang-hsun, the "king-maker," who tried to restore the monarchy, were seen with hundreds of men who served in the Chinese Labor Corps, recruited in Shantung by the British for service as labor coolies in France. But ally and enemy alike came from the same few provinces. Shantung men fought Shantung men in the big game of war, which is mere bread and butter

to the mass of low humanity, despised by the 399,000,000 of the nation but albeit a band of sturdy fighters accepting death with unconcern and no lofty sentiment of patriotism to fortify them in their passing.

It is easy to despise this military rabble, as the Chinese prefer to call it, this mob of swashbucklers who are the terror of the countryside because of their looting propensities. Yet these ill-trained mobs showed astonishing familiarity with Western weapons when the war started. For the first time in her military history China showed herself possessed of well armed, mobile units, organized on modern principles, responsive to the strategical designs of their leaders—quite meagre it must be admitted—and opening a vista of possibilities for a Chinese army. For the first time Chinese militarists attempted to fight a war on Western principles, opening a new chapter in Chinese military history.

Fortunately, for the peace of Shanghai, the Kiangsu-Chekiang war terminated after forty days' fighting, but the effect of the war has been to revise the general estimate of the Chinese soldier. The Chinese Tuchuns are buying the most modern war material and acquiring the essentials of war as fought in the West. Already Marshal Chang

Tso-lin has foreigners training his armies, and his son has visited every military and aviation school in Europe to familiarize himself with Western methods. Presupposing that the training Gordon had in mind when he made his small force the terror of the thousands of Taiping rebels is applied to the Chinese armies, the future will see wars on a large scale—wars which will split China for years. There is just one drag on the wheel and that is politics. Politics and intrigue broke one of the first attempts to transplant Western military methods in China, as witnessed in the recent war, and the present basis of the military system in the country will hinder any future attempts. There is not a single leader in the country who is certain that the support he has today will not be withdrawn tomorrow and that when he goes to the front some one will not betray him and capture his base. The recent example of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called "Christian General," who seized Peking as soon as Marshal Wu Pei-fu, his chief, was preoccupied at the front, was a convincing proof of this. But once some stability is introduced into the army system and reorganization based on national needs is made, giving attention to training and leading of the men, the world's low estimate of the Chinese soldier will become a myth.



Geneva Protocol as It Affects the Monroe Doctrine

By FRANCISCO GARCIA CALDERON

THE delegates of all the States represented at the meeting of the League of Nations unanimously signed on Oct. 2, 1924, a Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. This protocol was intended to punish in the future an aggressor State as well as to place the peace of the world on a solid basis. The delegates retired satisfied, and if they were to be believed, a new era had commenced in which the spirit of war would be extinguished and solidarity between all the nations of the world would maintain the conditions created by the Treaty of Versailles. Yet, before this conclusion was reached one of the Japanese delegates raised objections by presenting certain reservations in connection with a recent law prohibiting Japanese immigration into the United States. The question was whether the Japanese Empire, which was looking for new land to accommodate its excess of population, could submit to the councils of the great powers of the West a vital question which touched its honor. The reply made from Washington, couched in unmistakable terms, was that the United States would never admit that an agreement arrived at between foreign powers should encroach, in any way, on the sovereignty of the nation concerning its internal affairs, of which immigration was one. It looked as if an attempt were being made to create a super-State which was intended to intervene in all future conflicts, without exception, and to settle world affairs generally.

It was decided at Geneva that the protocol should be examined again at a great conference in June, 1925, to consider the question of disarmament. Here it was expected that the United States would declare that the protocol not

only neglected to consider the Monroe Doctrine but even opposed it, and that therefore there would be a pronouncement to the effect that the policy of the United States hinged on this Doctrine, as had been made clear several times during the past century. The Covenant of the League of Nations admitted (Article XII.) the existence of certain agreements which, like the Monroe Doctrine, guaranteed the maintenance of peace and which in no way contradicted the fundamental aims of the League. The protocol, which facilitated "the complete application of the system contained in the covenant," admitted in its preamble "the solidarity uniting the members of the international community." In this solidarity, which was intended to include all nations, more durable understandings could, no doubt, be established between those that were in close geographical touch with one another and whose political and economic bonds would be strong enough to create a durable union. This would be the case of North and South America, from Washington to Buenos Aires, and this first solidarity between the democracies of the New World would be repeated to serve the interests of other larger communities of people, more especially if

Francisco Garcia Calderon, a distinguished Peruvian diplomat, is also one of the leading writers of South America. He is particularly well known as an authoritative exponent of the Latin American standpoint and as a critic of United States policy. After serving as First Secretary at the Peruvian Legation in Paris, he was appointed Peruvian Minister to Belgium. While holding that position he served as the delegate representing Peru at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919. His best known book that has been translated into English is his "Latin America: Its Rise and Progress," for which Raymond Poincaré wrote the preface in December, 1911, before he became French Premier and Foreign Minister. Señor Calderon's other books include "La Creación de un Continente," "El Wilsonismo" and "Ideas y Impresiones."

similar agreements were established in Asia and Africa.

AMERICA'S "INTERNAL PROBLEMS"

Nevertheless, in the inner circles of the Pan-American Union, which, organized in 1889, anticipated the League of Nations, the United States put forward the contention that conflicts between different peoples were "internal problems," which Europe, notwithstanding the widely proclaimed solidarity, possessed no right either to examine or to solve. Even now the delegates of the great powers appear disposed to limit the action of the League in the event of its being called upon to use its combined forces as well as the sanctions provided against any State having recourse to war, thus violating the engagements both of the pact and the protocol. "Our fleet," former Premier Ramsay MacDonald was reported to have said, "will never prevent war between Honduras and Nicaragua." To this M. Aristide Briand, one of the French delegates at Geneva, replied: "I cannot quite see French soldiers preventing the outbreak of hostilities between Peru and Chile." In the minds of these statesmen the articles of the protocol had a definite geographical bearing—the New World would take no part in any intervention by any of the States associated with Geneva, but when a rupture of pacific relations between the Latin-American nations threatened the peace of the continent the Monroe Doctrine would be invoked to settle the differences. The protocol confirmed the declaration of the covenant.

These Latin-American republics have adhered enthusiastically to the Geneva covenant; they are each year sending delegations to the meetings of the League and, in conformity with their diplomatic traditions, have upheld the most generous proposals, such as compulsory arbitration, in the strictest sense of the word. At the second Hague Conference in 1907 the intervention of Latin America was in favor of the universal covenant for compulsory arbitration. The minority, which was against

this covenant, was directed by Germany and Austria. Among the thirty-five votes constituting the majority, nineteen were American. The chief of the Russian delegation also admitted publicly the new and valuable elements brought by the representatives of Latin-American nations and their efforts to avoid war and establish a court of arbitration. These nations now seem to be willing to forego the advantages of their position and, in spite of the existence of the Pan-American Union, which has its headquarters in Washington, have decided to belong to a greater international community than that limited by the new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. South American writers urge that, in opposition to the predominant influence of the United States, the moral pressure of a League would unite all the nations. Even if the spirit of justice always dominated in the councils of the United States, the "Big Brother," it would still be necessary, according to these writers, to have a counter-balancing influence, a limit to its expansion and a criticism of its acts. The League of Nations would fulfill its duties with serenity even if the United States Government decided not to belong to it in the near future.

CONFIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

The Latin or Iberian peoples do not show signs of any growing mistrust of the United States. Recent acts show that they desire the United States to act as mediator and arbitrator and that they expect that nation to bring about lasting peace. Ecuador and Peru recently agreed to submit to arbitration by the United States their old dispute regarding boundaries, which, during the past century, had brought them more than once to the verge of war. Again, the President of the United States, as arbitrator, was entrusted to bring to a close the most serious international problem of South America. This is the dispute of the past forty years between Peru and Chile over the execution of the Treaty of Ancón and the method of holding the plebiscite to decide the na-

tionality of the Provinces of Tacna and Arica held by Chile since 1894.

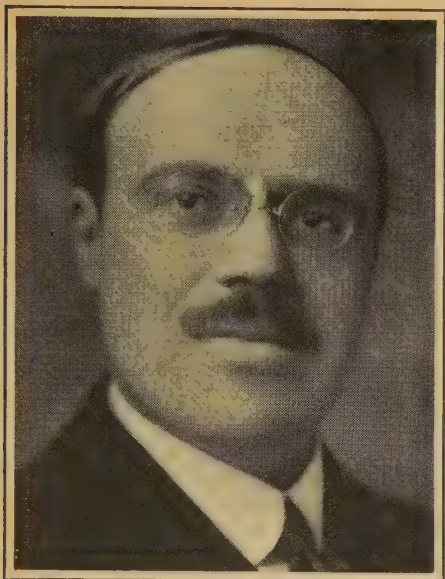
Although the Latin-American republics thus look to Washington to aid the cause of peace, they would also like to find protection in Europe. When the League of Nations was created in 1919 there was a desire to support France in opposition to Great Britain and the British dominions. Such a move would have been aided by all the nations of Central and South America without the slightest reserve. Given the traditional bond uniting Latin America and the old Spanish metropolis, it was believed that when France relinquished her position, Spain would step into her place. It was perhaps fear of offending the United States that prevented this plan from being carried out. During the Peace Conference in Paris, Costa Rica, in spite of the efforts of South American diplomacy, failed to be admitted because the United States had not recognized its Government, which had been set up after a revolution, and because the great European nations refused to enter into diplomatic relations with Costa Rica before the United States, at the head of the Pan American Union, withdrew its verdict. No sooner did the American troops leave the soil of Santo Domingo than this republic hastened to apply to the League of Nations for admission. The application was granted without any new examination of its situation. Consequently, the League, it was expected, would serve as a protection should the independence of Santo Domingo be again threatened.

The case of Santo Domingo has served as a constant example to those who condemn a policy of expansion or of political control as presented by a Mexican diplomat in a book bearing the significant title "The United States against Freedom." Had the protocol been in effect when Santo Domingo was occupied by United States troops there would certainly have been a conflict between Washington and the League of Nations. In 1905 Santo Domingo became unable to fulfill its financial obligations. By virtue of a convention

signed that year the United States took charge of the customs administration and undertook to bring about an improvement in the finances of the republic, at the same time protecting it against any possible temptations from Europe. The pledge given by Washington was to "maintain order and increase the efficiency of civil administration as well as to promote the material development and well-being of the republic." In 1907, under a new convention fixing the conditions of execution of the first, the President of the United States was to appoint the person who should be in charge of collecting the customs revenues of the republic; the amount of the public debt was determined, and it was established that the Dominican Government could not increase the public debt without previous agreement with Washington.

INTERVENTION IN SANTO DOMINGO

Could the political independence of the Dominican Republic be reconciled with this constant supervision by a tutelary power? For a time the convention was carried out, but five years later—in 1912—in consequence of new revolutionary troubles, the financial situation became worse. In order to save the republic from the "deplorable condition" which had overtaken it, the United States sent delegates to bring peace among the parties and cooperate in the election of a President. The inevitable course of events emphasized the character of the intervention. "Peace, order and labor" were offered by the delegates in the name of the United States, the "Big Brother" of Santo Domingo. The United States announced that it would oppose any subversion of constitutional order with all its influence and force, and that a revolutionary would be regarded as a "malefactor." So that the elections might be free, in 1914 they were presided over by representatives of the United States. What is the value of national sovereignty if the finances and politics of a country remain under foreign control? Nobly inspired, President Wilson preached



FRANCISCO GARCIA CALDERON

peace to the party leaders and requested them to consult for the purposes of electing a temporary President and the defense of the Constitution of Santo Domingo threatened by continual revolutions. "If the Government of the United States," he said, "is satisfied with the elections which have been free and just, the intervention will cease."

After the election of Señor Jimenez as President, however, the revolutionary turmoil continued and the United States, in consequence of Jimenez's resignation in 1916, decided to occupy the island with military forces, refusing to recognize the new temporary President, Don Federico Henriquez y Carvajal. The customs revenues were withheld from the elected Government and a boycott initiated. The United States demanded the surrender of weapons and imposed a bitter peace. After that, in spite of the protestations of the Dominicans against the "crime committed by the establishment of a military despotism" and of the doleful voyage of President *de jure* Henriquez y Carvajal to the capitals of Latin America, a relentless military occupation was established and

every attempt to assert the rights of national sovereignty was suppressed. Only in 1924 was the occupation ended. The pacifying intervention of Washington was slightly transformed into tyranny. Like every policy that is not counter-balanced, the Monroe Doctrine approached dangerous extremes. In order to save constitutional peace it suppressed essential liberties. *Quis custodiet custodem?* ("Who is to take care of the custodian?") exclaim those who fear a power that may take advantage of its supremacy. The Geneva Protocol, if applied to the affairs of North America, would raise another power to challenge the imperialism of the United States.

INTERPRETATION OF MONROE DOCTRINE

During recent years American statesmen have given a much broader interpretation to the Monroe Doctrine. In spirit and application the Doctrine is intended to establish or maintain internal peace in the American republics, to protect the strong Governments and to restore the finances. The Platt amendment, authorizing the United States to intervene in Cuba when political parties there abandoned constitutional order and tried to settle their disputes by revolution, already reaches the States that are under close supervision. The Governments of the republics often apply to Washington for technical advice regarding administration and finances. Since 1919, when France and Great Britain would not permit the issue of important South American loans on their markets, the United States has become the most powerful creditor of the republics and therefore able to control their finances. The Geneva Protocol can improve and avoid the defects of this situation. A State that might be threatened with the fate of Santo Domingo could invoke the League of Nations and the Government that intended to establish a military occupation would thereby become the aggressor State. Even if the aggressor State kept away from the League of Nations,

it could not escape, for Article 16 of the Covenant says:

In case of dispute between one or several of the nations belonging to the League and one or several States that have not subscribed to the present protocol and are strangers to the League of Nations, these States would be requested, according to conditions provided in Article 17, to submit themselves to the obligations accepted by the subscribers of the present protocol, with the object of a peaceful settlement.

Should the State thus invited refuse to accept the said conditions and obligations and have recourse to war, the provisions of Article 16 of the covenant, as in the Geneva protocol, that is, for all military, naval and economic sanctions, would be applicable.

Should the United States maintain the meaning of its recent declarations, it would be involved in a conflict with the League of Nations on the subject of Nicaragua and Haiti. If in recent conferences the great powers of Europe and Asia accepted partial disarmament and the examination of their military policy, the League could not, without a *capitis diminutio* (loss of prestige), yield before the decision of the United States. Military intervention in a South American republic to restore order and avoid fiscal irregularities becomes impossible. On the other hand, it would be necessary to transform the Pan American Union into a sort of federation of States and to provide that the questions of concern to them were "internal problems" on which the central authority at Washington would not accept the judgment of foreign nations, as is the case with Japanese immigration. But this would give the Pan American Union an entirely new character. Moreover, one of the republics could be declared an aggressor State if it invaded the territory of a neighbor, such as in the recent disputes in Central America between Nicaragua and Honduras, and between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Peru and Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay have also reached a point in their relations at which armed conflict might have broken out. All the sanc-

tions would act against the aggressor State. Military and naval forces of Europe, in accordance with the protocol, would immediately attack the republic guilty of having broken peace.

DESIGNS OF EUROPEAN POWERS

What would then be the attitude of the United States? The Monroe Doctrine is opposed to any intervention by foreign powers in America, even by this Holy League of Peace of Geneva, which is to intervene in the world affairs. To escape the trap of the protocol and save the Monroe Doctrine, the United States could create a League of Nations in the two Americas, with the most important States represented on the council of the new league. On a basis of equality, the union between the larger Latin-American republics and the Washington Government would be more actual. This was President Wilson's plan in 1918. He did me the honor to explain this plan to me when I visited him in my capacity of delegate for Peru at the Peace Conference in 1919. I have already summed up my conversation with him in my book entitled "Wilsonism." The President said:

We are the eldest brother, the "Big Brother." An unexpected event has put extraordinary forces in our hands. You cannot oppose our predominance. Instead of constituting a menace to you, we aspire to teach you how to conquer wealth, power and pre-eminence. Our gold will fill your safes, our science will build roads and works in the splendid solitude of your fields. We are going to collaborate in this new era, forgetting the rancors and errors of a troubled past. We shall form an association of equal republics for peace and economic progress. There will be no war of conquest, no usurpation of territories, no provinces under foreign yoke in this world of liberty. Should any republic attack its neighbor, we should, together with the other countries, intervene to restore to the continent its quietude, stability and union. Should we, ourselves, animated by a devilish spirit, ever bring discord, you would all unite your strength and impose peace on us.

The same ideas were expressed in June, 1918, to Mexican journalists in connection with the Pan American Union. Mr. Wilson then said:

Nothing is stated in the doctrine that protects you against aggression on our part. Let us make an arrangement by which we shall give you complete security. Let us sign a declaration of political independence and territorial integrity which will serve as a mutual guarantee. We shall stipulate that should any State, including the United States, violate the convention, it would be asked to render account.

The Republican Party since coming into office has not carried out President Wilson's plan. But the withdrawal of American troops from Santo Domingo seemed to indicate a new policy. On the other hand, the execution of the Dawes plan was intended to bring the United States and Europe together. This might perhaps bring about the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations and permit it to exercise a legitimate influence there. Even in this

case, the protocol might be harmful. Coalitions would be formed with European nations by Latin American republics in the belief that their security was threatened by the United States. On the other hand, a nation such as Germany is seeking new relations abroad, and is already attracted by Mexico, Venezuela or Chile. Even France and Great Britain have their ideas about opportunities in Latin America. Obviously an appeal to the League by a Latin American Republic that had an understanding with a European power would weaken the moral situation of Washington in the New World.

Whether one thinks of the recent past or of the near future, the protocol adopted by the League of Nations is intended to restrict the scope of the Monroe Doctrine and weaken its efficacy in application.

American Rule in Porto Rico— 1899-1924

By ANTONIO R. BARCELO

President of the Porto Rican Senate; Head of the Special Porto Rican Delegation to Washington in December, 1922; Member of the Porto Rican Independence Delegation to Washington in January, 1924

THE elections held in Porto Rico on Nov. 4, 1924, were notable for the sweeping victory of the Unionist Party and the defeat of the Opposition, or Socialist ticket. The election returns gave eighteen seats in the Senate to the Unionist Party and one to the Socialists. The Unionist Party organization, which is an offshoot of the older Autonomist Party, was also victorious in the lower house, winning thirty-four out of thirty-seven seats. Friends of the Porto Rican independence movement interpreted this result as evidence that the spirit of nationalism and the desire of independence were gaining strength.

American rule over the island recently completed its twenty-fifth anni-

versary. In view of this and of the result of the November elections, the moment is peculiarly favorable for a survey of the progress achieved by the United States during this quarter century of administration of its chief insular possession. In this survey, the situation prior to the American occupation cannot be neglected.

It should first be pointed out that public sentiment throughout the island was predominantly Republican long before the rule of Spain came to an end. During the brief régime of the republic in Spain in 1869, Porto Ricans enjoyed the same freedom extended to the Spaniards on the peninsula. The origin of present-day political forces, except

labor, can be traced to the party of Porto Rican patriots formed after the fall of the republic in Spain and after the brutal reaction caused by that fall had somewhat spent itself. It was in 1887 that the Autonomist Party was formed, the first political organization aiming to wrest self-government from an unwilling peninsular government. Its chiefs were persecuted, imprisoned; some of them were condemned to be shot. But it kept on, and manoeuvred in such a way that by 1897 it found itself in alliance with the Liberal Party of Spain, which, on its accession to power after the assassination of Cánovas, granted to Porto Rico the autonomous form of government found on the island by the Americans upon the outbreak of the Spanish American War in July, 1898.

The Liberal Cabinet created under the new Constitution had barely been in power two months when the hostilities started between the United States and Spain. United States military forces landed at Guánica on July 25, 1898, and Nelson A. Miles, the Commanding General, three days later issued a proclamation "To the Inhabitants of the Island," in which he said:

We have not come to make war upon a country which has been for several centuries oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring protection to you and to your properties, exalting and imposing upon you the guarantees and the blessings of the liberal institutions of our Government. It is not our purpose to interfere with existing laws and customs which are good and beneficial to your people; provided they are in accordance with the principles of the military administration and with those of order and justice.

The United States Congress, on April 11, 1899, ratified a treaty of peace with Spain, by virtue of which Porto Rico was ceded to the United States, Congress retaining the power to determine the civil and political condition of the inhabitants of the island. But, in the meanwhile, the President of the United States, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, had placed the newly acquired territory under a military Government

which, in its own words, was "absolute and supreme." The Cabinet, which had continued to function, lost more and more of its power to the military Governors, until at last, deeming its existence more decorative than useful, it resigned. Naturally, such a situation could not last very long under the American flag. On April 12, 1900, a law was passed by Congress and approved by the President entitled "An Act Temporarily to Provide Revenues and a Civil Government for Porto Rico, and for Other Purposes." By means of this law the Government of Porto Rico was organized, with a Governor appointed by the President as Chief Executive, an Executive Council and the House of Delegates.

By virtue of this "temporary" law the Executive power was for over sixteen years vested in the Governor and the six members of the Council not natives of Porto Rico, who acted as heads of the following newly created departments: Interior, Treasury, Auditor, Public Education, Executive Secretary and Justice. The Executive Council was made up of eleven members, approved by the President, five of whom were to be natives of Porto Rico. The House of Delegates was made up of thirty-five members, elected every two years by popular vote. It was given power to legislate on all matters of legal character, except franchises and concessions for public service, which were to be granted by the Executive Council and the Governor. The laws and resolutions approved by this body had to be passed upon by the Executive Council, which, when the Legislature was in session, acted also as a legislative body, forming with the House of Delegates the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico.

Tariffs and commercial treaties, as well as the law of bankruptcy and others of vital importance, were transferred to the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress. All custom house receipts, as well as internal revenues, entered the Treasury of the island to be used for the expenses and budgets of Porto Rico. A Resident Commissioner elected

by the people of Porto Rico represented them at Washington without voice or vote in Congress. By a rule of Congress the Resident Commissioner was authorized to speak, though never to vote, in the Congressional debates. The inhabitants of the island were declared "citizens of Porto Rico" and, with the citizens of the United States residing in the island, were made into a body politically denominated as "the people of Porto Rico." All townships were subject to the action of the Legislative Assembly. Congress retained the power to legislate for the island.

RISE OF UNIONIST PARTY

Political developments of importance followed. Under this régime the minority branch of the old Autonomist Party obtained the confidence of the first civil Governors, as it had formerly obtained that of the military Governors, and carried a majority of the House of Delegates. It was a turbulent period. The men at the helm of American affairs did not know the quality of Porto Rico's native civilization, and

their agents on the island frequently acted in a blind, stumbling manner in trying to adapt themselves to the virtues and shortcomings of the people without a very clear conception of what these were.

Party divisions caused definite alignments. The majority group of the Autonomists, under the new title of the Liberal (or Federal) Party, vied with the minority, or Republican, group for power. From 1900 to 1904 both divisions of the Autonomist Party had an identical political aspiration—Statehood. The Governors chose to rule with the Republican (or minority) wing, and a law was prepared for the elections of 1902 which granted to this division two judges at each balloting place as against one to the majority branch of the Autonomist Party, viz., the Liberal or Federal Party.

This party refused to take part in that contest. But during the electoral campaign of 1904, this branch rallied its forces, dissolved itself, and became the Unionist Party, which survives to this day. The new platform demanded restoration of the island's liberty and declared the Unionist Party's willingness to accept that liberty in the form of self-government, in the form of Statehood, or in the form of independence. This was the first time that a desire for independence had been voiced by an organized political party on the island. It may have been due to the grievances held by the majority of Porto Ricans against the American Administration; but the leaders of the party declared that the independence plank was created as a matter of dignity and would not be thought of as a solution until all hopes for either of the other two solutions had been lost.

Immediately after the formation of the Unionist Party with its independence plank a Governor was sent from Washington with instructions to act with the most scrupulous impartiality toward the two political groups. The new Governor, Beekman Winthrop, followed his instructions faithfully, with the result that a most peaceful and well-ordered



ANTONIO R. BARCELO
President of the Senate of Porto Rico



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The Plaza at Ponce, Porto Rico

electoral campaign returned a majority of the Unionist Party to the House of Delegates. The Unionist Party has retained that majority ever since.

The Foraker act, as a solution for Porto Rico's economic problems, was never deemed satisfactory as a permanent measure. It contrasted economic generosity with political niggardliness; and the Porto Rican mentality, for good or evil, has so far leaned more to the political than to the economic side. In 1909 the fight over the Foraker act before Congress took a serious turn; as a protest against it, the Porto Rican House of Delegates refused to approve any budget for the following year. The weapon was blunt, but it seemingly was the only effective one that had been left in the hands of the Porto Ricans. Congress temporarily solved the problem by passing a law within thirty days providing that the current budget should be considered in force for another year. But the unsuitability of the Foraker act to the primary needs of the people of Porto Rico had already been demonstrated.

Seven years of struggle took place

before Congress brought about the repeal of the Foraker act. The Jones act, which is now the Constitution of Porto Rico, was finally signed by President Wilson on March 2, 1917. By this law Porto Ricans were declared citizens of the United States and they were given a period of six months in which to express their preference by means of an oath before a court as to whether they would accept the new order or retain the old status of "Citizens of Porto Rico," losing thereby the right to be voters or eligibles, or to hold public office in their country. Two hundred and eighty-eight Porto Ricans availed themselves of this provision, and in this way were deprived, under the Jones act, of their political rights in their own country.

PORTO RICO'S NEW CONSTITUTION

A Legislative Assembly was created, composed of a Senate of nineteen members and a House with thirty-nine members, both elected by the people. The Governor was given the power of absolute veto on budget matters and on appropriations, and a conditional veto on

other laws and resolutions, providing, in the last case, that if two-thirds of both houses voted a law over the Governor's veto, the latter could appeal to the President of the United States; if that executive failed to decide the issue within a period of ninety days the law or resolution went into effect.

THE "FREE STATE" PLANK

In addition to the departments existing under the Foraker act, two more were established—one of Agriculture and Labor and one of Public Health. The heads of these departments, together with those of the Treasury, of the Department of the Interior and the Executive Secretary, were appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Insular Senate. The Departments of Justice and Education and the auditor continued under the control of the President, the latter two acquiring more power than they had under the old law. A Public Service Commission was also created to attend to franchises and concessions for public service, composed of the heads of departments, the Auditor and the two members elected by the people in general elections. Practically all the other provisions of the Foraker act remained in force with slight changes.

In 1921, the independence plank was stricken from the Unionist platform, and a "Free State" plank substituted therefor. Porto Rican opinion, as expressed through all parties, is agreed on the absolute necessity for the life of the islanders as a free people, that Porto Rico be associated permanently with the great republic, which is the mother of modern liberty and democracy, and to which Porto Rico is bound by natural ties of interest and affinity. Porto Ricans volunteered as soldiers to fight under the Stars and Stripes in the great war, and many of them made the supreme sacrifice, while 15,000 others had been organized and ready to sail for Europe. The Porto Ricans filled the quota assigned to them in Liberty loans and carried to completion every such task commended to them during the pursuit of the war.

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION AND COMMERCE

During the last quarter of a century the island accomplished greater progress than some of the States of the United States possessing similar population and resources. Almost half of the entire amount of the budget is spent for education, not counting the amounts appropriated by each municipality for this purpose. Through the elimination, due



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A country school, San Juan, Porto Rico

largely to night schools, of the adult illiterates, the illiteracy which existed in 1898 was gradually lowered, and it is expected that the percentage of illiteracy will very soon be not more than 15 per cent. Judged from the number of children of school age only, the percentage is already very near this figure. Plans were recently completed for the opening at San Juan of a medical school division of Columbia University, New York City.

According to the statistics for the years 1917 to 1921, the island's annual average imports were \$76,240,670, as against exports amounting to \$99,570,201. The annual average during these five years for Porto Rico's chief products was as follows:

Sugar	\$62,975,045
Coffee	6,369,984
Cigars	8,270,564
Fruits	3,541,489
Tobacco (leaf and scrap) ..	9,647,604

Porto Rican trade reports made public in October, 1924, disclosed a trade total of \$177,650,184 for the year ended June 30, 1924, marking an increase of

more than \$23,000,000 over 1923. This total was eleven times greater than that for 1900, which was \$16,600,000, and represented an increase of \$98,000,000 over 1913-1914, the last pre-war year.

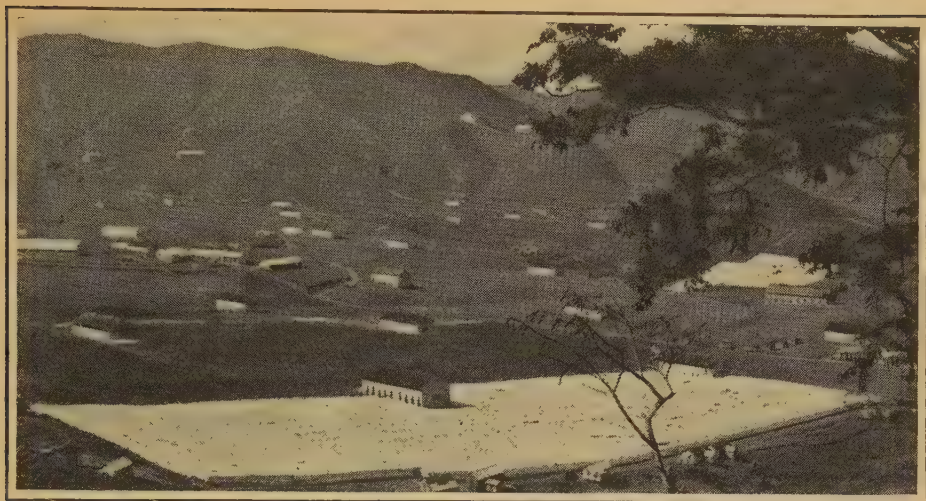
Porto Rico has to import most of the food it consumes, as well as most of the manufactured articles it needs. The island's problem in this respect is either to produce more food or to buy it in the cheapest markets of the world; and for this latter purpose it is essential that Porto Rico have the right of making commercial treaties, subject to the approval of Congress. Another great native problem is overpopulation, there being upward of 350 inhabitants to the square kilometer.

In spite of all the progress made under the American régime the poverty in the agricultural districts, which comprise over 70 per cent. of the island, is appalling, and has given rise to a vigorous economic and political labor movement. The farmer classes are mostly undernourished and lack many of the conveniences that are generally deemed essential to civilized existence;



Natives of Porto Rico packing fruit

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Tobacco drying sheds in one of the tobacco-growing districts of Porto Rico

yet they are alert and intelligent by nature, and, when placed in a favorable environment, quickly develop into a very desirable class of citizens. A large delegation of illiterate, shoeless peons, who left the cane fields of Porto Rico in 1900 to seek their fortunes in the outside world, now form a highly respected colony of skilled workmen and prosperous business men in San Francisco.

The three political parties of the island—the Republican and Unionist, which were the old Autonomist Party, and the Socialist organization—are now petitioning Congress for such changes in the organic law as will permit the people to elect their own Governor and

enable the Governor to choose his own Cabinet, with the advice and consent of the Insular Senate. Both the Republican and Unionist Parties see in this a step toward the realization of their respective ideals, and the Socialist Party approves of it on account of the general liberal tendency of the plan. It is interesting and important to note that Governor Horace M. Towner, the executive appointed by the President of the United States, was a member of the Porto Rican delegation which came to the United States in January, 1924, as spokesman for the movement for an extension of governmental autonomy in Porto Rico.



The Causes of the Defeat of British Labor

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

I TAKE it for granted that some hundreds of commentators in the United States have seen and proclaimed a striking likeness between the triumph of Calvin Coolidge and the triumph of Stanley Baldwin. Any one can see the resemblances; but unless the expositions of the English election which Americans have been privileged to read were better informed and more intelligent than most of the British (which is hardly likely), I must infer that the majority of American readers have formed a conception of the present political state in Great Britain that stands in need of rather drastic correction.

Let me begin with the central fact of the election and its result. Britain has returned to Conservatism with a determination that is revealed both in the popular vote and in the size of the party behind Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons. But this remarkable victory of the oldest party has not involved an equivalent defeat of Labor. In December, 1923, the party led by Ramsay MacDonald polled roughly 4,500,000 votes, and held 192 seats in the House. On Oct. 29, 1924, the party had a total poll of nearly 5,600,000, as against the total Conservative vote of almost 8,000,000. But the peculiarities of the British electoral system, intensified by the conflict of three parties, gave 411 seats to the Conservatives, and only 152 to Labor. Labor thus lost forty seats notwithstanding a popular vote that showed a surprising advance upon the vote of 1922 and 1923. The Labor Party in the new House (which came at once into being, and not, like the Sixty-ninth Congress of the United States, a year later) is larger by ten members

than the party of which Mr. MacDonald took command two years ago.

In the Fall of 1922, when Labor took the second place in point of members, and became in consequence the recognized official Opposition in Parliament, the fact was sounded over the world and was everywhere hailed as a political portent of enormous significance. It was that; and it was all the more impressive as coming after a post-war spell of four years during which the Labor Party had been torn by divisions, deprived of parliamentary leadership, and in consequence become nearly negligible in the Commons. The success of the following year was most noteworthy. After the appeal to the country by Stanley Baldwin, the Conservative Prime Minister, and his decisive overthrow, there was no practicable alternative to the acceptance of responsibility by MacDonald. The position of the Labor Prime Minister, with his parliamentary following of 192, seemed in consequence to be much stronger than it had been in 1922; but, as a matter of fact, it was not materially stronger, for a reason much more easily understood in England than elsewhere.

The election of 1923 was unpopular. By almost every political group in the country it was condemned as unnecessary. The Conservative leader, in bringing it about, was thought to be either frivolous or curiously simple. The re-emergence of Lloyd George as

Mr. Ratcliffe, well known as a publicist and lecturer in both England and the United States, was editor of *The Echo*, London, in 1900; acting editor of *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 1903-06, and of *The Sociological Review*, 1910-17, and representative of *The Manchester Guardian* in the United States, 1920-21. He is author of "Sir William Wedderburn and the Indian Reform Movement" and of numerous articles published in British and American magazines.



STANLEY BALDWIN

British Prime Minister for the second time as the result of the Conservative electoral victory on Oct. 29, 1924

star campaigner on the Liberal side was resented by large numbers of people who usually vote Liberal. These and other circumstances told, at the 1923 election, to the advantage of Labor, while there was a widespread feeling that on the whole it would be a good thing for Labor to reach a position of strength from which, if necessary, it might form a Government. Hence Labor candidates and the support of large numbers of voters who, though perhaps not counting themselves Liberals or Conservatives, would not dream of voting the Labor ticket in any election that involved, or seemed to involve, the crucial question of national safety.

LIBERALS' POLITICAL SUICIDE

Now, contrast this state of things in 1923 with the situation in the Fall of 1924. For reasons which I shall come

to in a moment, the anti-Labor forces had a strategic advantage that appeared to be overwhelming. The Conservative Party was united; in 1923 it was not. The managers of the Liberal Party made a virtual surrender to their historic opponents. They accepted the Conservative view that the election was a conflict, forced by the Labor Party, between Socialism and anti-Socialism. They ran candidates for less than 60 per cent. of the contested seats. By hundreds of thousands the Liberal rank-and-file voted Conservative. And there was one other factor, of colossal importance, that did not operate in 1923. The popular press in 1924 was almost a unit. The titled owners of the newspapers with large circulations, weekday and Sunday, put themselves solidly behind Stanley Baldwin. They had one voice, saying day after day the one single thing, "Turn the Socialists out!" Having these things in mind, we must conclude that the opponents of the Labor Party polled, as nearly as may be, their full strength. As Lord Birkenhead declared, they had played all their cards. They swept the multitude of the timid and doubtful into their net. Undoubtedly they mobilized a large majority of the women voters. Their total exceeded by a full third the total of the preceding year. And yet, with all this, the Labor Party added a million votes to its 1923 figure, and returned in such strength that in the new Parliament it is the effective Opposition. Its 150 seats are Labor seats, virtually independent of Liberal support. They can be counted as tenable by Labor under almost any conditions, since we may assume that the Conservative attack is not likely, in any future we can foresee, to be stronger than it was in the 1924 campaign. This means, among other things, that when the reaction comes Labor should get all or nearly all the advantage of it, and so be measurably nearer to the gaining of a clear majority in the House.

This particular calculation, as I need hardly point out, rests upon the assumption that the Liberal Party has

suffered final defeat. That, of course, is questionable. MacDonald and his colleagues have been insisting for many years past that the Liberals must disappear, that a steadily growing Labor Party must in a short time occupy the entire ground of the advance army. But the remarkable Liberal revival of 1923, which gave Mr. Asquith a party of almost 160, seemed to make nonsense of the prediction. But look at the Liberal position as it stands today. Mr. Asquith and his associates made a compact with the Conservatives involving the surrender of a large portion of the electoral field. Even if there had been any inclination on the part of the bourgeoisie to support the Liberals, they had, in some 300 constituencies, no opportunity of voting for their party, because there was no Liberal candidate. Even if they had held every seat that was theirs in the last Parliament, and won more, they would have been as far as ever from being in a position to form a Government. It was a voluntary surrender, as a result of which the great Liberal Party was reduced to forty members, fully one-half of whom are now in the House by the favor of Conservative support. It would be impossible to imagine a more distressing condition of affairs for the party of Bright and Gladstone, or John Stuart Mill and John Morley. And when we consider the way it has come about we must regard it as altogether humiliating. Liberal men and women in crowds went over to the Tories, and on all sides one heard it given as a reason that "Labor must be given its lesson." Almost every reasonable person, I think, might be forgiven for feeling, in the presence of the Labor Cabinet's later blunders, that a severe lesson might be salutary, and it was certainly inevitable. But the Liberal way of administering the lesson was merely fantastic. In many cases they withdrew their own candidates; in many they actually voted against them. In other words, they committed suicide as a party in order to show their policy of hostility to Labor and their disgust with the conduct of its leader. The delight-

ful practice of killing yourself on your enemy's doorstep in order to cause him the maximum of annoyance has hitherto been looked upon as a perversity of the Oriental mind. One might surely be pardoned for not having thought of it as a possible means of self-expression for an English political party.

The outstanding features, then, of a remarkable election were these: The total poll was 2,000,000 more than in 1923 (this addition went to the Conservatives); the Liberals lost 1,000,000; Labor gained 1,000,000. But under this distribution of votes the working of the imperfect British electoral system reduced the Liberals from a fairly effective party of nearly 160 to a tiny remnant of forty, with their leader, Mr. Asquith, outside the House. Such, we may say, are the curiosities of the victories gained, in old and conservative countries, by Lenin and Trotsky.

MACDONALD'S LEADERSHIP

No question of the election is so interesting, and perhaps so baffling, as the question of Labor leadership and the personal position of Ramsay MacDonald. In September I observed him at Geneva. He occupied a wonderful position. It would not be an exaggeration to say that no statesman appearing before an assembly of the nations had ever been given a more inspiring and significant welcome. His appearance was an illustration of one great fact of present-day Europe: the pathetic hope that the struggling peoples everywhere have felt in England and in the new statesmanship which seemed to be coming out of British Labor. MacDonald's two speeches at Geneva were important events—but in the moral sphere, perhaps, rather than the political. Yet it was plain that he was weary, overdone; and he had not been back in England many days before he gave unmistakable evidence of being near the end of his nervous resources. His treatment of the Red editor case was the first sign.

During the Summer vacation the Conservatives had been busy preparing a

mine, and when Parliament met at the end of September they sprang it. I do not know how far the Prime Minister was prepared; he certainly left the impression that the Opposition had broken down his defenses. He was aware that Liberals and Conservatives were uniting to throw the Government out, a month later, on the Russian treaty and loan. He therefore decided to go out upon the trivial matter of John Ross Campbell and his little Communist paper, and so escape the especial disadvantages of an election in December. Tactically, this was a good move, if an election had to be, but this point is not important in its bearing upon Ramsay MacDonald's standing as leader. The case against him had been mercilessly piled up since the day of his defeat in Parliament. I will try to state it here as it presents itself to many of those who, recognizing the immense success of MacDonald's European policy, cannot help feeling strongly that his actions and speeches during the campaign did injustice to himself and were calamitous in result.

It is thought, in the first place, that MacDonald left an impression of disingenuousness in regard to each one of a series of incidents that have proved to be, in sum, of decisive importance. The affair of the automobile and the biscuit shares was the first of these. It was none the less serious because so manifestly without a suspicion of crookedness or venality. No one in England imagined for a moment that the Prime Minister had been guilty of anything but thoughtlessness. But I am sure that when the public hearings of the incident became apparent he should have returned the gift, with a candid gesture. The prosecution of the Red editor called, in similar fashion, for emphatic action and a straightforward statement. If MacDonald, upon learning the facts, of which he was not at first informed, had gone down to the House in confidence and righteous anger he would have been invulnerable. He should have said: "Certainly I stopped that absurd case. This Government cannot

permit the prosecution of an ex-soldier under an Act of Parliament 150 years old." The Liberals, and many Conservatives, would have been obliged to cheer him. The Government is concerned in every prosecution for sedition, and necessarily so. There is, however, no great mystery about the affair. The Prime Minister was absorbed in pressing and very difficult matters of foreign policy. His mind was not free; and there can be no doubt at all that the urgent necessity of getting results on the continent of Europe was to him the transcendent consideration. He was bending all his energy to the accomplishment of the great thing. He could turn aside to protect himself from a sudden assault, but not with the whole force that was required for the management of the complete business.

LEADER NERVOUSLY EXHAUSTED

There followed the ordeal of the campaign, and MacDonald was used up before it began. This was only too manifest in his election speeches. Delivered as they were, on tour without an interval, they could not comprise the exposition of Labor's constructive program. They could not be anything more than an evangelical appeal. I do not think that Mr. MacDonald can have gone into the fight with a mind at ease. His own mistakes, and a knowledge of what his opponents were making ready to do for his destruction, would preclude that. The Zinoviev letter made his position impossible. It was timed with diabolical precision, four days before the poll. Genuine or not, answered or not—such points were of minor consequence. The document was intended to do in this election what Lloyd George's "Hang-the-Kaiser" slogan did in the armistice election; and its success was exactly similar. What would in any case have been an assured victory was turned into an overwhelming triumph.

Mr. MacDonald's relation to this matter is, it need not be said, by far the most serious thing in his present situation, and the attacks made upon him

from his own camp intensify the seriousness. The dates show that the Zinoviev letter was under consideration by the Foreign Office during the greater part of the election campaign. MacDonald's opponents made most of the question as to his going on with the Russian treaty when he had this evidence of Soviet treachery in his possession. But that, of course, is not a question of importance to Mr. MacDonald's followers. They ask: Why, knowing of the document and the use that was to be made of it, did he keep the Cabinet in ignorance? If Mr. MacDonald, as he explained, knocked the draft reply of the Foreign Office "into smithereens," how did it happen that his revised draft was couched in terms so harsh that they must at once destroy the last chance of the treaty upon which the election was being fought? Why, in a word, did he, by his inexplicable moves, so fatally play into the hands of his opponents? The explanation that still seems to cover the facts most fully, is that Mr. MacDonald, physically and nervously, was at the end of his reserves. He knew that the publishing of the letter by the Rothermere newspapers could have but one result in the election. He is a leader who works, in the main, without counsel. At that stage of the campaign it was impossible for him to summon the

Cabinet, and evidently he was not able to view the situation as a whole. The immediate consequences, taken in conjunction with the earlier incidents, were disastrous. It would, I think, be a reasonable guess that the Zinoviev letter, while completing the destruction of the Liberals, cost Labor twenty seats. The party suffered a net loss of rather more than forty. I find it difficult to believe that if the Zinoviev bomb had not been thrown they would have lost half that number. The letter, and Mr. MacDonald's handling of it, left labor candidates and their supporters up in the air during the three crucial days. The remarkable thing is that the Labor vote not only remained steady but reached a total exceeding by 1,500,000 its vote in the election of 1922—the event that was hailed by the whole world as a protest.

One other circumstance deserves notice and a prayerful regret. There was no prominent Conservative or Liberal statesman who came out on the eve of the poll to make the simple announcement that the Red letter, being obviously and demonstrably a red herring, was not the issue of the election, and therefore that the English people should decide the important matter of their votes in relation to their own urgent affairs and to the cause of peace in the world.



The Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor

By E. GUY TALBOTT

Regional Director, Near East Relief; official reporter of the A. F. of L. convention for this organization

EVENTS and developments which are destined to have far-reaching international effects in the fields of both labor and politics marked the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held at El Paso, Texas, Nov. 17-26. The American Federation of Labor has long been accustomed to receive fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. This year, however, there were present fraternal delegates not only from England and Canada but also from Germany and Mexico. Twenty million organized workers were represented at this important labor convention.

The occasion held another distinction in that the sixth annual convention of the Confederation of Labor of Mexico was being held across the Rio Grande in Juarez, simultaneously with the meeting of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso. The first two days were given over to joint sessions of the two conventions. Approximately five hundred delegates and labor officials attended the El Paso convention, while a thousand Mexican delegates made up the convention in Juarez. The dual assembly was marked by dramatic features, culminating in the arrival of the Mexican delegates, headed by a military band, at Liberty Hall, El Paso, where the Americans were holding their meeting—a demonstration unique in the history of the American Federation of Labor. These brown-hued labor delegates from the Republic of Mexico represented 1,200,000 organized workers in that country. Through six tortuous years they had seen the Mexican Confederation of Labor grow and solidify until today it is the strongest single unit of

power in the new Government of Mexico.

Luis N. Morones, the leader of the Mexican labor movement, was absent from the convention; it was explained that he was still suffering from the bullet wound inflicted in an attack made upon him in the Chamber of Deputies in Mexico City. The shooting of Morones, who is a member of the Chamber, was interpreted by his compatriots as a blow aimed at the growing power of organized labor in Mexico by the reactionary opponents of President Plutarco Elias Calles's new Labor Government. Morones sent a telegram to the joint American and Mexican Labor Conventions, meeting in Juarez. His message stated:

Now that the harmony of the United States and Mexico has been sealed by this demonstration, I take the liberty to say it will show the working classes of the world how to acquire love and sacrifice.

In welcoming the Mexican delegates to the El Paso assembly, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, said:

Time, circumstance, experience have demonstrated to us that if you and we and those whom we represent maintain the high ideals of organized labor of both countries, nothing but fraternity, good-will and mutual interest will serve the people of both republics. I bid you and your associates welcome to this convention and wish for you all success in the attainment and achievement of the hopes and ideals of Mexican toilers and Mexican statesmen and patriots, that we may live in peace and live to help in the peace, not only of our two countries but in the peace of the whole world.

Mr. Gompers stated that the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor—justice, good-will and



SAMUEL GOMPERS
President of the American Federation of Labor

cooperation—had been tried and proved successful in economic, social, political and international relations. He added:

A very striking illustration is emphasized by circumstances connected with the present location of our convention. For years force and selfish interests dominated relations across this international border, but the labor movement brought to an acute and difficult situation the spirit of patience and the desire for service, and a transformation has been wrought which gives us courage and conviction for wider application of the same principles.

Juan Rico, President of the Mexican Confederation of Labor, acknowledged the welcome of Mr. Gompers; he envisioned a happy progressive future with both States cooperating:

The organized labor movement of Mexico, side by side with the organized labor movement of the United States, is going firmly ahead toward the establishment of definite peace and good-will between both nations. We are firmly convinced that our first duty as Mexicans is to march abreast with the civilization of the United States of North America, for it is that civilization that will save and protect the liberty of the world.

Three hundred delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention ac-

cepted the invitation of the Mexican Confederation of Labor to participate in the inauguration of President Calles at Mexico City on Nov. 30 and to attend the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention there on Dec. 3. Señor Obregón, retiring President of Mexico, is a member of the Machinists' Union, and Calles, the new Executive, also holds a card in the International Association of Machinists, which body is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Communism was arraigned and emphatically repudiated not only by the American Federation of Labor officially but also by the Mexican Confederation of Labor and by the delegates who officially represented the organized labor movements of Canada, Great Britain and Germany. Speakers from many lands discussed this paramount problem. Ricardo Trevino, General Secretary of the Mexican Confederation of Labor, speaking on Communism before the Mexican Labor Convention in Juarez, said:

We cannot allow them to do what they did to Italy, Spain, England and all the other countries, where, by sending Communist propagandists, they have played straight into the hands of the Fascisti and the reactionaries. In Mexico they openly advised the workers to join the reactionary revolt headed by Adolfo de la Huerta. The Mexican Confederation of Labor does not permit, and will not permit, the establishment in Mexico of Communist parties depending upon and directed by the Third International of Moscow.

BRITISH LABOR BARS COMMUNISTS

C. T. Cramp, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party and one of the fraternal delegates from England, was equally emphatic on this question. He said:

At our Labor Party conference in October, our national executive recommended that the Communist Party be not allowed to affiliate and that no person known to be a Communist be allowed the endorsement of the party. Not only were these recommendations carried by large majorities, but the conference went even further and decided that no Communist be allowed to become an individual member of the party.

Although I can understand and even respect

the sincerity of the Russian worker, I have nothing but contempt for those in our own ranks who, by giving lip service to Communism, seek to disrupt and weaken our trade unions and our political Labor Party. Professing a desire to promote solidarity, their efforts are all directed to the task of embarrassing the leaders, of promoting strikes which end in defeat and of sowing the seeds of ill-will.

Not all, however, were so definite in opposition to the spread of Soviet propaganda. The President of the British Trade Union Congress, A. B. Swales, also a fraternal delegate from England to the American Federation of Labor, took a more tolerant attitude; his remarks in this regard were bitterly resented by many leaders of the American labor movement, who characterized his speech as "a most grievous diplomatic blunder," in view of the fact that the American Federation of Labor was known to be unalterably opposed to Russian Communism.



Harris & Ewing

LUIS N. MORONES

Mexican labor leader who recently escaped assassination

Mr. Swales said:

At the International Trade Union Congress I attended in Vienna a few months ago, considerable attention was focused on wider international solidarity. That congress decided to make an effort to secure the adhesion of the Russian trade unions to the International, and I believe we will be successful, for we have, I feel, nothing to fear or lose from Russia. They are workers like ourselves. I feel sure that we will not suffer any setback but will go forward to a fully united body of the working-class organizations of all countries.

This reference was particularly resented by the American Federation of Labor, which body has never been officially affiliated with the International Trade Union Congress. Mr. Gompers has declared "voluntarism" to be the cornerstone of the American labor movement. In his opening address as President, he said:

We are eager to join in an international labor movement based upon the same principles of voluntarism. We are willing to cooperate if we can be assured a basis that will enable us to maintain our integrity—a condition necessary for our own virility and continued progress.

The fraternal delegate from Germany was Peter Grassmann, Vice President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany. Herr Grassmann denounced in no uncertain terms the activities of Communists in Germany. He declared:

The trade-union leaders and their point of view are hated to the utmost by the Communists, whose aim is to conquer the unions in order to make them the instruments for the political purposes of the dictators in Moscow—to make Germany a Bolshevik State. As a real mass movement, Communism in Germany is of no account. It takes root only where distress and misery make the people desperate and hopeless. As to Germany, Communism may be looked upon as a mental disease caused by the terrible times we passed through, but it will disappear as we gain hope for a better future.

GERMANY AND THE DAWES PLAN

Concerning the attitude of German trade unionists toward the Dawes plan for settling the reparations tangle, Herr Grassmann said:

I was the one worker-expert who was heard

by the Dawes Committee on Feb. 11, 1924, and I may claim a certain ability of judgment in this affair. In spite of the heavy burden the Dawes plan loads on our country, in which the German worker will have his share, we all hope it will lead to a peaceful development in Europe and, although slowly, to better conditions in Germany. We, trade unionists, stand for the fulfillment of the Dawes plan as we stood for the fulfillment of our obligations of reparations.

As to the present aspirations of Germany, he added:

We do not want either monarchistic reaction nor a Bolshevistic chaos, but wish to live in the best friendship with all nations. We are filled with a deep love of peace. All nations need peace. The earth has room enough, offers plenty of possibilities so that each people can live and prosper without injuring the other. To bring about this state and to affirm it, to bring mankind to a higher state of culture, to wage war only against hate and ignorance and distress, that is the especial task of the organized workers.

Of especial interest were the statements regarding conditions in England where the trade-union movement and the British Labor Party are practically synonymous. The reason why British labor organized itself into a political party was explained by Mr. Cramp as follows:

The task of British trade unionism is no longer merely one of securing equitable distribution, but also of creating such international conditions as will enable our products to find ready markets abroad; for if the total of available wealth be decreased, then the most powerful trade unionism must find itself largely on the defensive. This will explain why in Great Britain we use not only our industrial but our political weapon.

ENGLAND'S HYMN OF LOVE

Mr. Cramp expressed the peace aims of British labor in these words:

Though it is true that over in Europe there are war lords and manufacturers of armaments who are still endeavoring to keep alive the old spirit of enmity between nation and nation, yet the workers of Great Britain, though they suffered in common with others in the great war, have put all enmity out of their hearts toward their fellow-workers of other countries, who may have been grouped on the other side during the great war. In place

of that enmity we, today, have growing in the hearts and minds of our people the determination that never again shall such a catastrophe fall upon us.

Regarding the new Conservative Government in England, Mr. Cramp said:

The reactionaries for the moment have triumphed, but it was their maximum effort, and from now on their power must crumble and decay. They have no leaders worthy of the name, and the economic and social problems awaiting them, particularly in international affairs, will probably expose the bankruptcy of their statesmanship.

Statements of American leaders made it clear that sentiment for the organization by the American labor movement of a separate political party had largely evaporated and that, instead, the American Federation of Labor would adhere to its time-honored policy of non-partisan political action. The report of the Executive Council of the Federation reviewed the political achievements of labor through non-partisan political action, including labor's participation in the recent Presidential campaign. It was pointed out in the report that only because both the Republican and Democratic Conventions turned a deaf ear to the requests of labor did the Federation finally decide to endorse the independent candidacy of Robert M. La Follette. This action, the report emphasized, did not mean labor's endorsement of a "third" party, but merely sought labor's support of Mr. La Follette as an independent, non-partisan candidate for the reason that his platform more nearly represented the hopes and demands of labor.

FEDERATION DEFINES POLICY

The report of the Executive Council on political action concluded with this significant statement of the political policy of the Federation:

We are partisan to principles—not to a political party. The American labor movement, if it is to be true to its mission to defend, advocate, promote and protect the rights, interests and welfare of America's wage earners and the American people, must be free from political domination now as at any time in the history of our movement.

International peace, based on justice, good-will and human brotherhood, was the dominant note of this historic gathering of labor leaders of several nations. One of the most dramatic moments of the convention came at the close of the first day's session when the responsible heads of the labor movements of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Germany and Mexico joined hands across the stage of Liberty Hall, El Paso. Crowded into the auditorium were 2,000 delegates, representing 20,000,000 organized workers in five countries.

One entire session of the convention was given over to hearing an address by General James Drain, National Commander of the American Legion. The note of international peace was sounded by Commander Drain when he said:

The American Legion desires peace and it strives for peace, because the Legion has had exceptional opportunity to acquaint itself with

the alternative of peace, which is war. The American Legion belongs to, and one of its members is President of, Fidac, an association of the veteran organizations of nine nations. The purpose of that association is to promote world disarmament and world peace, each organization working in its own country, through its own Government, to this end, that it may make audible to the world the voices of 20,000,000 men who know what war is, because they have been a part of war.

The dual conventions carried an import far surpassing their economic significance as labor assemblies. It was realized by all that an event of historic importance was being enacted there on the border between the United States and Mexico. The spirit of international cooperation was dominant and the desire for universal fraternity manifest at every session. These gatherings indicated the rapid progress being made toward closer industrial and political relations between the foremost nations of the world.



Wide World

British and German labor leaders who attended the American Federation of Labor convention at El Paso, Texas. From left to right: Peter Grassman, Vice President of the German Federation of Labor; Walter Maschae, Secretary of the German Federation of Labor; A. B. Swales, Chairman of the British Trade Union Congress; C. T. Cramp, Chairman of the British Labor Party. Next to Mr. Cramp is Clarence F. Stinson of New Jersey, Chairman of the Executive Board of the National Association of Letter Carriers

The Passing of the I. W. W.

By JAMES ONEAL

American Socialist and Author of Several Works on the History of the American Working Class.

IN his notable work on "Trade Unionism in the United States," the late Robert Franklin Hoxie wrote that "the American public has been frightened by the impressionist school of reporters and magazine writers into vital misconception and tremendous overestimate of the power and significance of the Industrial Workers of the World." He added that the members of the I. W. W. "are like Morgan's raiders; by rapidity of movement and sheer audacity they have created the impression of a great organized force."

Because of the impressionist publicity the I. W. W. has received and the dramatic struggles it has waged, its social significance has been obscured. For the mass of Americans, Robert Franklin Hoxie, Marion Dutton Savage, John Graham Brooks, Paul Frederick Brissenden and the late Carleton H. Parker have written their important studies of the casual and the unskilled laborer and of the I. W. W. to no purpose. What the uninformed American does not understand, he magnifies into a monstrous menace. To those who have studied the I. W. W., it is neither monstrous nor a menace, but as human a response to certain economic and social conditions as the creation of any local trade union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Given a certain type of industry employing casual or seasonal labor; indifferent to standards of hygiene, hours and wages that obtain in other industries; given frequent cases of absentee proprietorship with its lack of personal responsibility; given remoteness from the more settled communities with a survival of something like a frontier code of social life, and a fertile soil is created for the rise of an organization of laborers like the I. W. W. Our industrial communities

employing thousands of unskilled workers of many nationalities will also give a ready hearing to an organization that makes a special appeal to the unskilled and semi-skilled.

Casual and seasonal occupations offer little opportunity for marriage, children and a home, yet "the fact that 90 per cent. of the migratory workers have no women, awakens no train of thought," wrote Carleton H. Parker. A wandering life means a disfranchised man who has no interest in voting or in the normal functions of citizenship. Being greeted by the constables of the towns and the police of the cities with the customary "move on," he is likely to become a cynic regarding governing institutions and their officials. Generally a suspect wherever he goes, he acquires the psychology of the baffled man. Society uses his labor power and then forgets him. Should he fail to appear at the harvest season there would be a crisis in agriculture and urban residents would suffer for foodstuffs. When he does appear at the harvests he is treated as a suspect and deported if he tries to organize a union. His uncertain life and his abnormal experiences leave him in a mood to accept some crude theory of revolutionary change and he is likely to use his organization to expound it. Certainly his environment and mode of life are not calculated to reconcile him to the social order as he finds it, yet millions are indignant that he is not as other men. One of the members of the organization revealed the psychology of his whole class in discussion with the late Carleton H. Parker. He said:

You ask me why the I. W. W. is not patriotic to the United States. If you were a bum without a blanket; if you had left your wife and kids when you went West for a job, and

had never located them since; if your job had never kept you long enough in a place to qualify you to vote; if you slept in a lousy, sour bunkhouse, and ate food just as rotten as they could give you and get by with it; if deputy sheriffs shot your cooking cans full of holes and spilled your grub on the ground; if your wages were lowered on you when the bosses thought they had you down; if there was one law for Ford, Suhr and Mooney, and another for Harry Thaw; if every person who represented law and order and the nation beat you up, railroaded you to jail, and the good Christian people cheered and told them to go to it, how in hell do you expect a man to be patriotic?

It is because I. W. W. propaganda is often couched in such rough terms that many get the impression that its members are all illiterate social dissenters who deserve scant consideration. Doubtless it has its proportion of the uncouth, perhaps more than other labor organizations. On the other hand, many of its members display a knowledge of the social sciences and history that would do credit to a university student. Moreover, the more elementary aspects of the social sciences are popularized for the members, so that the average member may be said to live on a higher intellectual level than the skilled workman who takes no interest in social problems and who accepts the world as he finds it.

CHALLENGE TO THE A. F. OF L.

The modern I. W. W. is not what its founders planned it to be when it was organized in 1905. It had its origin in dissatisfaction with the forms and policies of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, briefly known as the A. F. of L. It charged that they did not change their forms of organization to adapt them to new industrial conditions. It was held that old craft lines were losing their importance with the consolidation of industrial ownership in the hands of powerful corporations, that the wage workers were left divided into various crafts in a single industry when one organization would serve more efficiently. More than ten years before the I. W. W. was

organized, this dissatisfaction had made itself apparent. In 1893 the American Railway Union and the Western Federation of Miners were organized as industrial unions. Five years later the Western Labor Union was organized and changed its name to the American Labor Union when it moved its headquarters to Chicago in 1902. The change of name and location was intended as a challenge to the A. F. of L. Other organizations, such as the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees and the United Metal Workers, were exponents of industrial unionism.

Another charge was that the A. F. of L. neglected the unskilled. The charge was overdrawn, as the A. F. of L. for many years had local "federal unions" directly attached to it and still has them. Among the unskilled now affiliated are railroad coach cleaners, cemetery employes, janitors and porters, freight handlers, bridge tenders, and other representatives of unskilled occupations. Moreover, there are industrial unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., such as the United Mine Workers, and amalgamations have occurred where two or more unions have united, sometimes by recommendation of the A. F. of L. following a jurisdiction dispute. All students of trade union history, however, agree that the A. F. of L. has been mainly an organization of the skilled. Organization by trades naturally concentrates on skilled labor; the unskilled are likely to be considered a by-product of lesser importance and, if taken in at all, will be the last where the organization is by trades.

Practically all the dissenting unions also disagreed with the conservative unions in the matter of political action. They were Socialist in aim and generally favored the Socialist Party. In the East the Socialist Labor Party organized the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance in 1895 and made war upon the A. F. of L. Its membership never exceeded a few thousands and never at any time threatened to displace the A. F. of L., but its propagandist zeal was out of all proportion to its numbers. The Socialist Party

avored industrial unionism, but held that differences in the unions over forms of organization and political action did not justify setting up rival unions. This was the general principle, although Socialists conceded that union members might become so dissatisfied that a majority of the membership might have to secede from a given union if progress could be made in no other way.

The period from the early '90s to 1905, when the I. W. W. was organized, was also a period of remarkable consolidations of capital. During the last decade of the nineteenth century the membership of the A. F. of L. increased very little while the captains of industry were building their giant structures. With the new century, however, the A. F. of L. showed rapid increases. In 1899 the membership was a little over 300,000, but in 1900 it had more than doubled. One year later it had nearly 800,000 and in 1904, the year before the organization of the I. W. W., it reported a membership of over 1,650,000. These figures show that, during the formative period of the I. W. W., the A. F. of L. was flourishing, while the former organization, when founded in 1905, had less than 50,000 members in the twelve organizations that affiliated with it.

ORGANIZATION OF THE I. W. W.

The I. W. W. was organized in Chicago in June, 1905. Of the forty trades or occupations represented, only three, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees and the United Metal Workers, were national unions. The rest were local unions, fragments of unions and a few educational societies to promote the idea of industrial unionism. Twenty-two organizations sent uninstructed delegates, and one or more individuals were present as observers for nine organizations. Brissenden estimated the members represented at less than 50,000.

The call that brought these men together declared that "social relations and groupings reflect only mechanical and industrial conditions" and that "the



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD
Former leader of the American I. W. W.,
who is now in Russia, where this photograph
was taken last Winter

great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines" and concentration of "the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed." It condemned the craft union because it made solidarity impossible, tended to create trade monopolies, encouraged prohibitive initiation fees, forced men "to become 'scabs' against their will," fostered political ignorance, divided the workmen at the ballot box, hindered "the growth of class consciousness," supported the idea of harmony between capitalist and laborer and generally served the interests of the employers.

The form of organization adopted was quite in contrast with the loosely federated national unions of the A. F. of L. Brissenden gave his terse description of it:

The constitution provided a highly centralized scheme of administration involving a mixed hierarchy of power. The general organization was divided into thirteen international

industrial divisions (later called "departments"). Each of these departmental divisions was supposed to comprise an allied group of industries, grouped together for administrative purposes. In the original report of the Constitution Committee, the industrial or occupational "sphere of influence" of each division was specified in detail. The world's industries were divided into thirteen administrative groups.

Almost from its inception the organization was fatally crippled because of internal dissensions. The divergent views soon brought a division into those who favored centralized power and those who opposed it, those who favored independent political action and those who did not. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers which, because of its affiliation with the American Labor Union, had been carried into the I. W. W., was involved in a controversy with the United Metal Workers when it was forced into the metal department. The Amalgamated withdrew its 4,000 members in the first year and one year later the Western Federation of Miners ceased to be active in the I. W. W. and then withdrew in 1907.

At the second convention in 1906 about 60,000 members were reported. It was in session sixteen days and, after a long struggle with the migratory delegates from the West, ended in a "split." These delegates were opposed to centralization and succeeded in deposing the President and abolishing his office. President Sherman took possession of the headquarters and the matter was taken into court. The Court decided that the abolition of the office of the President was illegal and void, but that Mr. Sherman's acts after the convention were illegal. The Sherman faction survived a few months and disappeared.

Power fell into the hands of the radical migratory faction allied with the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, of which Daniel DeLeon of the Socialist Labor Party was the spokesman. Two years later this coalition was itself "split" when the radical migratory delegates forced the DeLeon faction out of the convention of 1908. The radicals favored sabotage and direct action and

expressed contempt for political action in any form. The year 1908 witnessed two organizations of the I. W. W., the second one controlled by the followers of DeLeon and intended to serve the purposes of the Socialist Labor Party. Known as the Detroit I. W. W., it changed its name to the Workers' International Industrial Union, in 1915, but it never at any time had a membership exceeding 11,000. It had a precarious existence, and in 1920 it reported a membership of 2,000. Between the two organizations a bitter war has been waged since 1908.

The last week in August, 1924, witnessed the culmination of another struggle of factions in the "original" or Chicago organization and one of the bitterest in its history. Five members of the Executive Committee sought an injunction to restrain the Chairman and the General Secretary from disposing of assets and records. The struggle for control resulted in a physical encounter. Some weeks before these pages went to press, it was reported that both sides had agreed to release all books and records, so that the business of the organization might be resumed.

An offshoot of the agitation for industrial unionism was the One Big Union, which was organized in Western Canada in 1919 and which spread to the United States. Its sponsors were dissatisfied with the conservative policies of the Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion. A special convention of delegates met in Calgary, Alberta, in March, 1919, and adopted resolutions condemning "lobbying in Parliament for palliatives," approving the system of Soviet control and declaring the principle of "proletarian dictatorship" to be "absolute and efficient for the transformation of capitalist private property to communal wealth." In the following September, it was planned to organize the One Big Union, or the O. B. U., as it came to be known, in the United States. In June, 1920, forty-three delegates met in Chicago and organized the American branch of the O. B. U. They asserted that they repre-

sented 40,000 members, but in 1922 one of the organizers claimed only 30,000 members in this country. Like the I. W. W., the O. B. U. had its factions and secessions. One year after its organization, the lumber workers withdrew 20,000 members because of a difference of opinion regarding the structure of the organization. Though not definitely committed regarding political action except to condemn lobbying, the O. B. U. permitted some members to run for public office. It has not been on good terms with the I. W. W. The latter has been hostile to the Russian Communists, while the O. B. U. has been friendly. The Canadian Government prosecuted and imprisoned some of its leaders and charged the O. B. U. with being an extension of Russian Communism. So much for the history of this movement, as differentiated from the I. W. W.

AIM TO CHANGE SOCIAL ORDER

The declared purpose of the I. W. W. is not only to serve its members but to change completely the present social order. It asserts that a struggle between the possessing and non-possessing classes "must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system." It believes that it will inherit the industrial system and that by "organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." The unions are to own the powers of production.

Following the end of the World War an influential group insisted that a scientific understanding of the technique and processes of modern industry was necessary to fit any organization to manage a new order. It held that propaganda might bring power to the industrialists, but that knowledge of technical problems must precede intelligent and efficient management of industry. The convention of 1920 established a Bureau of Industrial Research for the purpose of making scientific surveys of the leading industries, including raw materials,

location of plants, machinery and all matters connected with those industries. Experts made a survey of the lumber industry but other surveys were postponed because of the need of funds to defend members who continued and still continue to be prosecuted, especially in California.

This phase of the I. W. W. marks an important change in its history. The convention of 1921 declared that the purpose of the surveys was to "accomplish the transition from capitalism to the new society with as little social friction as possible." It invited "the cooperation of the manual and intellectual worker; of the engineer and technician, as well of the laborer and machine operator." They were asked "to pool their intellectual, financial and moral resources" for the economic transformation. There was some dissatisfaction with this new policy, on the ground that it meant a "spiritless industrial pacifism," but it was supported by a majority. This was the most important change of policy since the organization abandoned political action.

After the abolition of the office of President in 1908, the I. W. W. drifted further and further away from central executive and administrative power. In doing this, the organization launched a unique experiment in organization. What is called the General Administration consists of three officials, a General Secretary-Treasurer, an Assistant Secretary and a General Organizer. The national convention nominates candidates for these offices, but only the members can elect under a referendum. The Organizer and the Chairmen of industrial unions affiliated with the I. W. W. constitute the executive. The term of office is for one year, and no official, except a member of the editorial division, is permitted to serve two consecutive terms. Officers cannot serve as delegates to conventions and they have a voice only in the conventions. Even members cannot be delegates to consecutive conventions. All officials are subject to recall.

This decentralization is also carried

into the work of organization. The "job delegate" is an innovation. He is an organizer and any member can be a "job delegate" by obtaining credentials from his union. He performs all the duties of an organizer and even initiates new members "on the job." Traveling delegates supply the job delegates with supplies and due stamps. It is interesting to observe that job delegates serve without compensation.

These innovations indicate that the members distrust power and centralization among themselves as much as they do in Government and State. They distribute power and responsibility among thousands of members. The constant turnover of administrative and executive officials cannot make for efficiency. What the organization gains by membership control it loses by denying its officials the experience and training that come with constant application to certain tasks. Its members and unions are too loosely knit together and its executive so shorn of power that the organization is easily disturbed by factions and divergent views.

STORMY CAREER IN EAST AND WEST

The I. W. W. had a stormy career in the East at Lawrence and Paterson, in the upper Middle West and the Far West. In the East it appealed in the main to the alien masses of the unskilled, in the West to the English-speaking workers. Its ribald songs and rough speech provoked public officials to suppress its activities. It has had a reputation for violence but it may be questioned whether violence has characterized its activities to any greater extent than the activities of the conservative unions. Public officials have often violated the spirit and the letter of the law in dealing with A. F. of L. unions, but the full weight of extra-legal power has generally fallen upon the I. W. W.

In the West its opponents have shown still fewer legal scruples in trying to stamp out the hated organization. Its members have been unmercifully pursued, deported from their homes, often beaten by mobs and their halls de-

stroyed. They have appealed to the public authorities for protection, but so widespread is the prejudice against them that the law fails them. The hysteria of the war and post-war periods marked the high tide of this prejudice which culminated in the tragedy at Centralia, in the State of Washington, on Armistice Day, 1919. Mr. J. W. Lockhart presented to readers of *CURRENT HISTORY* in the issue of October, 1922, some of the more salient facts regarding this unfortunate episode and all unbiased investigation warrants the belief that the men who defended their hall in Centralia were acting within the law. In 1917 their hall had been wrecked by another mob. These attacks had been, indeed, a frequent practice in the West. With the cooling of passions, six of the jurors who had brought in a verdict that gave life sentences to eight of the accused members of the I. W. W. signed affidavits stating that they had been terrorized into rendering the verdict they did. Three new witnesses to the attack on the hall also made affidavits which supported the defense. It appears that more substantial justice requires that the imprisoned men should have a new trial.

OPPOSED TO RUSSIAN COMMUNISM

Contrary to general belief, the I. W. W. is not favorable to Russian Communism or its leaders. Its opposition to political action and distrust of the State are in conflict with the Russian dictatorship maintained through control of the State and army. The centralization of power in the Soviet State is not only in conflict with the I. W. W. ideal of control through industrial organization; it is also in conflict with the I. W. W.'s effort to avoid centralization in its own organization. Moscow has repeatedly wooed the I. W. W. and tried to induce it to affiliate with the Red Trade Union International, but without success. American Communists have also endeavored to establish fraternal relations with the I. W. W., but the feeling between the two remains hostile.

The only notable convert Communists have made in the I. W. W. is William D. Haywood, and he is regarded as an apostate.

The spirit of the I. W. W. has not been broken by its experiences in recent years. In common with all other labor organizations, its membership declined after the end of the World War, but its spirit remained unbroken despite prosecutions that continue to the present hour. Its members serving prison sentences have frequently refused to recant their views when promised release. They have, with few exceptions, refused to sign applications for pardon as individuals or groups, and have insisted on their right to dissent from the con-

ventional views of society in peace or war.

It is difficult for conservative Americans to understand that the views of these men are sacred to them, that many have willingly suffered and that some have even given up their lives for their convictions. They may, as the writer believes, be mistaken in their policies and aims, but they cannot be understood without a knowledge and an understanding of the social and economic background of their life. Whole groups do not risk ostracism and imprisonment for trivial and transient reasons. The history of woman suffrage, abolition and other movements should at least teach us this much.

Soviet Russia's Expansion in Central Asia

By L. J. LEWERY

ON SEPT. 17, 1924, the existing geographical map of the Central Asiatic States dominated by Soviet Russia was completely wiped out at a meeting of the Communist Party at Tashkent. This political rearrangement involved a territory of approximately 1,525,000 square miles, all of which was to be consolidated within the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Politically, as well as economically, the coup d'état, which was so quietly organized that it passed almost unnoticed by the press, was of vital importance. Politically, it was tantamount to annexation by Moscow of the two buffer States of Khiva and Bokhara, which separated Imperial Russia from Afghanistan and India, in the form of Russian protectorates, ruled, however, by sovereign Oriental potentates. For the first time in history, Moscow and Delhi became next-door neighbors. The

territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics from this time on represented a solid politically homogeneous block, from the Arctic Ocean down to Asia Minor, and straight across Asia to the Pacific.

Economically, the Central Asiatic Republics, occupying a territory greater than that of all European Russia, formed, as thus regrouped, a semi-closed circle connected with Soviet Russia—an economic system of States producing foodstuffs and raw materials, and dominated by the new cotton-producing State of Uzbekistan, the latter carved out of all the former political units of Central Asia. In this "bridge-head State" all the manufacturing industries of that region were to be centered, and it was to form, in turn, the economic connecting link with Soviet Russia, the sole consumer of its cotton.

The resolution of the Communist

Parties of Bokhara and Khiva made these States constituent units of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. It meant, in other words, that they were placed in complete subjugation to the Moscow Soviet Government, and on equal footing with the Far Eastern Republic and the autonomous republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. For, as Soviet Commissar Tchitcherin succinctly stated at the second annual session of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (this statement was published in *Economic Life*, Oct. 25, 1924):

The Soviet Federated State, which does not represent a union of States, but a single unified State, is the supreme authority, the bearer of a historical mission and of ideals embodying the product of the collective will of the toilers.

There are, it should be pointed out, no Communists among the semi-nomadic cattle herders, Cossacks of the steppes, or Uzbek farmers of Turkestan, Bokhara and Khiva. The conception of a "Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Khiva" is, therefore, both ludicrous and grotesque.

THE SOVIET'S STRATEGY

The grafting on of the "Central Executive Committees" to the Moslem or Parsee-Buddhist tribes proceeded gradually. At first the Ameer of Bokhara and the Khan of Khiva were deposed by mild revolutions and autonomous national republics were set up. Then Bokhara became a Soviet Republic, although still nationalist, not socialist, and not a member of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. There was no nationalization of property, nor any "dictatorship of the proletariat." Later on, in October, 1923, Khiva was similarly transformed. Finally, both Bokhara and Khiva were merged with Turkestan and then wiped out altogether, by unanimous resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, and gathered into the fold of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, their political, financial and economic systems becoming thereby fused with

that of the rest of the Soviet Union. The population—scattered, Orientally passive and fatalistic, and overwhelmingly illiterate—had been but vaguely cognizant of these political perturbations. The "Central Executive Committees" worked smoothly and efficiently, without protest or interference. Some rather thorough ethnographic work was accomplished by scientific missions from Moscow, which mapped out the racial distribution of the population. The new political arrangement followed these ethnological boundaries fairly closely, as implied by the names of the newly organized States, with the dominating idea, however, of consolidating the entire cotton-growing belt into one central political unit—the Soviet State of Uzbekistan.

The Central Asiatic Republics proper, as formerly constituted, covered a territory of 700,000 square miles. The adjacent Republic of Kirghizia, with a territory of 823,300 square miles, was not, contrary to the common understanding, considered part of Central Asia, but of Western Asia. The Central Asiatic Republics divided the territory as follows: Turkestan, 581,000 square miles; Bokhara, 95,200 square miles; Khiva, 23,800 square miles. The total population numbered 8,000,000-8,500,000, of which 66.6 per cent. was in Turkestan, 25.3 per cent. in Bokhara and 8.1 per cent. in Khiva. The population of the Kirghiz Republic, as formerly constituted, was about 5,000,000. By virtue of the political reorganization these republics ceased to exist as political entities, together with Turkestan, and in their place arose the Socialist Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan.

Several "autonomous districts" were segregated within these two major political units of Central Asia. Within Uzbekistan was to be incorporated an "autonomous district" of the Tadjik tribes. Another "autonomous district" was to be carved out for the Kara-Kirghiz mountain tribe, which, together with the Kirghiz Republic, was to be annexed to Soviet Russia proper, i. e.,

tached from the Central Asiatic States and annexed to the Kirghiz Republic. Finally, Kara-Kirghizia, inhabited by the Kirghiz mountain Cossacks, occupying the Pamir tableland in the south-eastern corner of the Turkestan Republic, was to form an "autonomous territory" which, as above stated, was to become a part of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

UZBEKISTAN CHIEF STATE

The most important and strongest economically of the newly created States was Uzbekistan. The capital city was not fixed, but was to be either Tashkent or the ancient Samarkand. The area of Uzbekistan was fixed at some 154,000 square miles and the population at 5,300,000. It was to include practically all the cotton-growing belt of Central Asia, 918,000 acres out of a total planted this year of 1,000,000 acres.

Turkmenistan, although little smaller in area, was to have but 830,000 inhabitants. Agriculture and cattle raising are the chief occupations of Turkmen. The Kirghiz tribes devote themselves almost exclusively to horse and cattle herding. The area of the territory of the Kirghiz Cossacks is over 300,000 square miles, with a population of 1,500,000, and 14.5 head of cattle per household; while that of Kara-Kirghizia, adjoining Kirghizia, covers 88,000 square miles and has but 500,000 inhabitants, with 20.5 head of stock per household. Thus the Uzbeks devote themselves chiefly to agriculture and the Kirghiz to cattle raising, while the Turkmen divide their interests between the two. The two Kirghiz Republics, part of Soviet Russia proper, were to cover approximately 1,250,000 square miles of territory.

The greatest length of railroad line is found in Uzbekistan, which has some 1,200 miles of road. Turkmenistan will have 900 miles of line and Cossack Kirghizia 630. The "autonomous district" of Kara-Kirghizia has only sixty-five miles of railroad. The only navigable river is the Amu Dayra (Oxus), rising

in the Hindu Kush Mountains and flowing northwest into the Aral Sea. Of the navigable portion, some 560 miles, from Novo Urgentch to Termez, lie in Uzbekistan, the other States having little water communications. In this State an extensive system of irrigation has been developed to water the cotton plantations.

A study of the new political realignment reveals the predominance given to the new State of Uzbekistan and the systematic grouping of all the others around it. It is destined to become the centre of the cotton-growing industry. The agricultural State of Cossack Kirghizia will supply it with grain, the Semiretchensk Railroad having been completed as far as Pishpek. This line, branching off at Aryss from the Orenburg-Tashkent Central Asiatic Railroad, when completed through Verny to Kuldja, will tap the most fertile districts of Turkestan. At the same time it will connect Uzbekistan, through Orenburg and Samara, with the heart of the agricultural belt of Central Russia, and through Merv-Krasnovodsk with the Caspian Sea.

Though the Kirghiz Cossacks raise the grain, the flour mills are located in Uzbekistan. Likewise, the utilization and marketing of the products of the cattle industry of Kirghizia and Kara-Kirghizia make them dependent on Uzbekistan, where all the wool washeries, packing and sausage-making industries are to be centred.

Thus, in the place of the existing ancient States of Turkestan, Khiva and Bokhara, there is being shaped a group of entirely new units, forming a close economic complex centring around and dominated by the Republic of Uzbekistan, largely carved out of the autonomous, non-Communist republics of Khiva and Bokhara. Though all the new States east and west of Uzbekistan will be economically dependent on it, the State of Uzbekistan itself, representing practically the entire cotton belt of Central Asia, will be completely dependent on Soviet Russia, its sole consumer.

Harmonious Adjustments in the Sarre

By JOHN BELL

SO much has been published about the Ruhr during the last two years that public attention has, as a consequence, been diverted from other problems connected with the peace settlement. Not the least interesting of these problems is that which is now in process of solution in another German industrial basin—the Sarre [Saar]. I have been able to study this problem on the spot, and have been impressed by the manner in which the League of Nations, through the Governing Commission for the Sarre territory, is coping with a question that has interest for all who may be studying the application of the peace treaty.

The situation in the Sarre, which, at the outset, was from the point of view of government peculiarly delicate and involved, has vastly improved. The Governing Commission has been in existence for several years. It is expected to function ten more years, and at the end of this period the fate of the Sarre will be definitely decided by the plebiscite provided for by the treaty; the people will declare their wish either to remain German or become French or whether the present régime is to continue. If the result of the vote shows that the Sarre is again to become an integral part of Germany, the mines which, under the terms of the peace treaty went to France in compensation for the pits destroyed by the Germans in the north of France and which are now being exploited under French supervision, will have to be bought back by Germany.

A tour through the Sarre reveals one outstanding fact: the population is entirely German. Of the 720,000 inhabi-

tants, six-sevenths are Roman Catholics, the remaining seventh Protestants. The yield of the coal mines is 13,000,000 tons a year, and one-third of the population is directly dependent upon the mining, metal and transportation industries. When the Governing Commission appointed by the League of Nations began operations five years ago, it had no funds at its disposal. It borrowed £4,000 from the League to start the Government of the Sarre, and the money was paid back within six months. The first preoccupation of the Commission was to establish a budget, and the French State mines had to be laid under contribution. In 1921 the latter paid 70 per cent. of the total budget of the Sarre, 38 per cent. from 1921 to 1922, 39 per cent. from 1922 to 1923 and 35 per cent. from 1923 to 1924. At first the tax on coal was 20 per cent. It is now 5 per cent. The general criticism, from the German point of view, has been that the French State Mines have not paid their proper proportion of the total taxation of the Sarre, but from the figures given it will

Mr. Bell was engaged in journalistic activity for a quarter of a century in London and Paris. He was invited by Viscount Burnham to join the Paris staff of *The Daily Telegraph*, which position he still holds. He was selected by the French Foreign Office to supervise the English translation of President Poincaré's speech at the opening of the Peace Conference. He served as President of the Anglo-American Press Association of Paris in 1921. He has been decorated by the French Government with the Cross of the Legion of Honor. Mr. Bell spent seven months in the Ruhr and wrote the history of the occupation in a series of articles for the *Fortnightly Review*. He has made a special study of Germany, particularly of the reparations problem and German foreign policy. His articles have been widely quoted in the British and French press, and have elicited spontaneous letters of appreciation from leading French statesmen and economists.

be seen that during the first year they paid more than their share.

GERMAN POLITICIANS DOMINATE

One effect of the Peace Treaty was to take away all initiative from the political parties in the Sarre territory. These bodies had nothing to do. The creation of a Consultative Council of the Landessrath, however, meant work for the political parties. This Council has a membership of thirty. The Centre, or Catholic Party, has 14 members, the Socialists 6, the Communists 5, the Liberal Democrats 4 and the Proprietors' Party 1 member. It is quite clear from the complexion of the political parties in the Sarre that they are wholly German and that, when the moment arrives for them to express themselves on the question of their future destiny, they will vote against France. Moderate Frenchmen familiar with the situation are prepared for this result.

It was natural enough that, at the beginning, the French should have made efforts to proselytize, to change the sentiments of the population, in the hope that at the end of fifteen years it would vote for annexation to France. Much may happen in ten years, but today the outstanding fact which impresses the impartial investigator in the Sarre is that the native Germanism of the inhabitants is as pronounced as in other parts of Germany. Faced by this unmistakable fact, French policy has undergone a change.

The sentiment of the Sarre people is that they are cut off from the rest of Germany, that they are being governed by a foreign body with which they are bound to have very little sympathy. This patriotic feeling on the part of the natives was particularly manifest during the memorable mine strike of March, 1923, and was accentuated on March 7 of that year when the Governing Commission issued its drastic censorship decree against German newspapers in the Sarre area. This decree caused widespread criticism; Great Britain placed it before the Council of the League of Nations when the Council

met at Geneva in April, and Hjalmar Branting, then Swedish representative on the Council, forced the League to make an exhaustive inquiry. M. Rault, the French official who also is President of the Sarre Governing Commission, defended the decree. With the settlement of the strike and the passing of the disorders, however, the question eventually lapsed.

During my visit I was able to make a thorough study of the activities of the Governing Commission, and I found that this body was doing all that was humanly possible for the weal of the people. M. Rault, in his rôle of President, had been unmercifully criticized. One drawback had been that he did not speak German. He was, however, well liked by the Germans with whom he came in contact. I felt that he succeeded in what might be characterized as the most difficult administrative position in Europe. The Peace Treaty really created a dual authority in the Sarre—the Governing Commission and the French management of the coal mines. The Sarre people could not accustom themselves to the change. They declared that they had been robbed of the mines. They gave no thought to the questions of equity and retribution, and failed to see why their mines should have been given to France in compensation for the French pits destroyed by the German armies. The Governing Commission had no authority over the mines; all it could do was to see that no action taken by the Coal Administration put in jeopardy the rights of the people. This situation still exists today.

UNFAIR CRITICISM OF THE FRENCH

The head of the coal mines is the French Minister of Public Works. One criticism leveled against the President of the Governing Commission was that he was always going to Paris. The fact was that he had to go there. Another reproach was that French interest was predominant. Here it should be pointed out that the Treaty was responsible for this and not the Governing Commission.



French armored car in the streets of Saarbrücken, a town in the centre of the Sarre Valley mining district. This photograph was taken in the first year of the French occupation

The Sarre people did not take this view; they blamed the League of Nations for what had happened—an entirely wrong attitude.

Though the French had made no headway in their efforts to change the sentiments of the people, I found that they had made great progress from the point of view of industrial penetration. They had gained control of industries other than coal. It evidently was their intention to obtain something like 60 per cent. participation in all Sarre concerns of note. They were prevented from achieving their object only by the action of Herr Röchling, a great in-

dustrial magnate. His concerns were the only ones that remained entirely or almost entirely German; the rest had been bought up by the French industrialists who obtained 60 per cent. interest in them. The French paid a fair price for what they got; the Germans admitted that. By the deals effected, Sarre coal and Lorraine ore were brought together.

I noted with interest that though the French had reached a settlement with Baron von Stumm, owner of the industrial concerns in which they obtained 60 per cent. interest, they had failed to make a similar deal with Herr Röchling. Herr Röchling and his brother came into note during the war; they were employed by the German Government to destroy the industries in the north of France. As is well known, it was one of the aims of Germany to cripple French industry so that it would be idle for many years, and to the brothers Röchling was given the task of destruction. They did their work well. The Sarre magnate's

brother was arrested in France. He was tried, sentenced to a long term of imprisonment and ordered to pay a fine of 10,000,000 francs. The head of the Sarre firm received the same sentence in default. In order to secure the release of his brother, Herr Röchling, through M. Rault, entered into an agreement to sell 60 per cent. of his business to French interests. Believing that Herr Röchling would carry out his undertaking, the French took him at his word and released his brother. After this result was accomplished, Herr Röchling lost all interest in carrying out his engagement, and held to his business. The

German public regards him as a hero for standing up and fighting for Germany. In his hatred for France and the French he is undoubtedly one of the best propagandists that Germany possesses. British public opinion has been more or less based upon Herr Röchling's propaganda. As the head of a great business, he is the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party. He represents the German point of view in reference to industrial problems, and wants a 10-hour working day in the Sarre, and a reduction in wages and in the price of coal. A strike was in progress at his works at the time of my visit to the Sarre; this walk-out was caused by the arrangements made in London for applying the Dawes plan.

It was, however, obvious that Herr Röchling would not have his own way in so far as fixing the hours of labor in the Sarre was concerned. The Governing Commission interested itself in the eight-hour-day question and framed a law which was referred to the Consultative Council. This was done against the wishes and in spite of the antagonism of the big industries. The credit for this law must be given to M. Rault. The Consultative Council discussed the law, approved it and returned it to the commission with its recommendations. Naturally all the labor unions in the Sarre were in favor of the law, which, in a large measure, conformed to the Washington agreement. Not being an independent country, the Sarre has no representation at the International Labor Bureau at Geneva; the Governing Commission, however, has shown that it is well able to look after the interests of the workmen.

A problem confronting the Sarre administration was the future maintenance of order in the territory. At the time of my visit there were 1,800 French troops in the industrial basin, and the number was to be decreased as the gendarmerie increased. If the troops left, it was the view of foreign residents in the Sarre that others must take their

place. The gendarmerie was entirely German. At the beginning of 1924 it consisted of 355 men, and by the end of December this number had been increased to 735. The Governing Commission was bent on solving the problem of maintaining order. A gendarmerie force 3,000 strong was spoken of, but to maintain it would mean an expenditure of 30,000,000 francs a year, which was out of the question, considering the financial situation. Competent authorities considered that order could be kept in the Sarre with a force of 1,000 German gendarmes. The problem, however, was to provide for any extraordinary situation that might arise. French interests in the Sarre had become considerable, and it could not be expected that German gendarmes would protect them. Consequently it was held that there must be troops to cope with possible developments.

A DUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

It was interesting to observe how education was being carried on under the dual authority in the Sarre. There were two school systems, one controlled by the Government and one by the French mine authorities. The Peace Treaty gave the latter the right to establish schools entirely outside the jurisdiction of the governing body. With regard to the French language, however, this meant little change, as the French tongue had always been obligatory in the middle and superior schools under Prussian and Bavarian rule. Between the ages of 6 and 14 education was compulsory and free. There were 137,000 children attending the schools. Since 1922 the teaching of French in the Government primary schools, where it had not previously been part of the training, had been optional. Figures given to me showed that there were only 3,900 children attending the schools established by the French mine authorities, and of these 748 were French children. In these schools the teaching of both French and German was compulsory.

A wonderful system of welfare service was in operation, superintended by Herr Kossmann, the Minister of Public Welfare in the Sarre Government and intermediary between the Administration and the Sarre population. Herr Kossmann began life as a miner. He was a member of the Reichstag for several years, during which he also worked as a journalist. In the company of Herr Kossmann and Mr. George Washington Stephens, a Canadian who is the British member of the commission and who fills the office of Finance Minister, I visited a remarkable hospital at Homburg composed of fifty-five buildings, replete with the latest appliances. This was one

of several admirably equipped hospitals, and their management was a tribute to the Governing Commission and to Herr Kossmann.

Such are the main facts of the situation in the Sarre, of the history that is being made there. It is altogether an exceptional development. None can say what the future holds, but it can be said with truth: the Governing Commission, acting under the League of Nations, is discharging the duties imposed upon it with absolute impartiality and is inspired by one guiding thought—to do the best for the people placed within its jurisdiction.

Martyrdom of Count Stephan Tisza

By ERNEST LUDWIG

Former Consul General for Austria-Hungary in the United States

COUNT STEPHAN TISZA, war Premier of Hungary, was shot dead in his home at Budapest on Oct. 31, 1918. The sixth anniversary of this crime falling in October, 1924, centred public attention once more upon what was perhaps the least justifiable of all the long list of political murders that followed the World War. To Count

Tisza himself, however, the attack came as no surprise; a campaign of anti-Tisza propaganda, allegedly inaugurated by Count Michael Károlyi as a preliminary to the revolution which swept Hungary in the early weeks of October, 1918, and placed Károlyi in power, had warned the Premier of his impending death.

Mr. Ludwig was formerly a member of the Austro-Hungarian and Hungarian Foreign Service. Prior to 1917 he served for eight years as Consul General for the Dual Monarchy in the United States. During the World War he was identified with the Hungarian Red Cross in connection with the repatriation of war prisoners. In September, 1919, he was placed in charge of the Hungarian Foreign Office. Subsequently he acted as a negotiator for his Government with Sir George Clark, the British plenipotentiary of the Entente powers in Budapest. Mr. Ludwig is the author of "Austria-Hungary and the War," which went through five editions; "A Plea for Hungary's Territorial Integrity"; "A United States of Hungary"; "The League of Nations Seen Through Hungarian Eyes"; "National Minorities in Hungary and Czechoslovakia" and other works. In writing the article published herewith Mr. Ludwig had access to the Hungarian secret archives, which he used for his interpretation of a

phase of the beginning of the World War that has hitherto remained obscure.

The main facts of Count Tisza's career are briefly as follows: He was born in Budapest in 1861. He was educated at the Universities of Berlin, Heidelberg and Vienna, and was appointed to a post in the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior in 1882. Elected to the Hungarian Parliament in 1886, he was conspicuous for his strong advocacy of closer relations with Austria. He served as Premier and Minister of the Interior from 1903 to 1906. When his Ministry fell he lost his seat in Parliament. He was again appointed Premier on June 10, 1913, and still held that office when the World War broke out in 1914. It has generally been believed that Tisza was thoroughly in sympathy with the declaration of war and its continuance. Growing dissatisfaction with the prolongation of the conflict and resolute demands for suffrage and other reforms which Tisza refused to grant led to his resignation as Premier on May 13, 1917.

When the soldiers who subsequently murdered Count Tisza appeared in his residence in the charming park district of Hungary's capital he was in the company of his wife and another relation. Calmly he asked them why they had come. "We have come," they replied, "to make our reckoning with you, for it is you who have brought about the World War." Whereupon Count Tisza calmly remarked to his wife, "I knew this had to come," and exposed his breast to the bullets of his murderers, who were not real soldiers but adventurers who had been hired to murder him.

TISZA'S OPPOSITION TO WAR

Count Tisza, in saying that he knew that this had to come, alluded to the fierce press attacks which Károlyi's revolutionary partisans had launched against him, charging that he had dragged the country and Europe into the World War, that he had sent the ultimatum to Serbia, and so forth. Though Tisza maintained to the end his silence regarding the origin of the war, it would have been easy for him to clear himself of this unjust charge. All that he would have had to do was to publish the minutes of the Joint Ministers' Councils in Vienna of July 7 and July 19, 1914, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, or his memoranda of July 1 and July 8 submitted to the Emperor, Franz Josef, by which he could easily have proved to the satisfaction of the whole world that of all Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Europe—Grey not excepted—he had really been the only one who had done all that was humanly possible for the head of a responsible, civilized Government to do in order to prevent the outbreak of the World War.

At the Council of July 7, 1914, he openly declared that *Hungary would be opposed to a declaration of war against Serbia and that all outstanding questions with the little neighbor kingdom must be peacefully settled.* He never believed that a Serbian war could remain localized, because of Russia's well-known protective policy toward the Bal-

kan States. The Ministers' Council, presided over by Count Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs [1912-1915], who was not exactly an intellectual giant, and consisting of Austrian and Slavic Ministers, was strongly in favor of war with Serbia, but Count Tisza's strong will triumphed. He declared that in the event of his being voted down he would instantly resign. Hungary felt, he said, that if a war with Serbia were to be started the entire civilized world would brand Austria-Hungary as the breaker of world peace, although in the opinion of some, perhaps many people of the monarchy, a war with Serbia was justified.

This same view was expressed in the two memoranda which Count Tisza submitted to the old Emperor and King on July 1, 1914, and July 8, 1914, respectively. The second memorandum was accompanied by a brief note on the probable distribution of forces in the event that war proved unavoidable, sketching, on the basis of specifications furnished by the Chief of the General Staff, the military prospects in a manner by no means encouraging to the Dual Empire. [See the documents published at the end of this article.]

In reading these memoranda, we must not forget that Count Tisza had to follow the customs of court diplomacy and to use arguments to defeat counter-arguments propounded by Count Berchtold and Count Stürgh, the Austrian Prime Minister, both of whom favored aggressive action against Serbia. It would have been of no avail for him to use glittering generalities to denounce war, because these would have made no impression upon the mind of Franz Josef, who had had over sixty years' experience in dealing with the Ministers of Austria and Hungary. What Count Tisza aimed at was to obtain results, that is to convince his Majesty that a war against Serbia was ill-advised and ill-timed. Had he won a respite, had the atmosphere in Belgrade and Vienna been a little more self-restrained, perhaps war could have been averted. Count Tisza did all he could do to this

end short of an open rupture with Austria and Germany, with both of which Hungary was bound by treaties of alliance. A rupture between Hungary and these countries was unthinkable. Had Hungary sanctioned such a step, she would have exposed her flanks to a general attack from both sides. Furthermore, this would have constituted an act of gross breach of faith, much more gross, in fact, than was the violation of the treaty guaranteeing the safety of Belgium.

HIS VIEWS ON ANNEXATION

In the second Ministers' Council of July 19, Count Tisza only slightly modified his original point of view. The venomous press comments in the Serbian press and some facts brought to light in connection with the Serajevo murder made Count Tisza fear that it would probably not be possible to save the peace of the world in spite of the superhuman efforts which no dispassionate writer can deny he took in order to save it. *But, even in the event of an unavoidable war (so he declared in the Council), Hungary must insist that a unanimous resolution should be passed by the Ministers that no Serbian territories would be annexed, and the Foreign Offices of the various countries should be at once communi-*

cated with to this effect. This resolution was adopted, as can be attested by the Austrian Red Book published by Dr. Gooss. The facts given above are both interesting and important, because Dr. Renner, the Socialist Chancellor of Austria, practically charged Hungary at the Paris Peace Conference, in the presence of the late President Wilson, with having provoked the World War. This was in every sense a manifest falsehood. This Red Book, issued a little later under the auspices of the Austrian Foreign Office, cleared Count Tisza and Hungary completely of this charge.

There is another interesting feature which is here presented for the first time. At the time of the outbreak of the World War, much ado was made about the ultimatum to Serbia. Several celebrities of the World War, including Sir Edward Grey, branded it as the most formidable document that ever was addressed to one independent State by another. On the face of it these charges were perfectly true. One

article of the fateful ultimatum demanded of Serbia permission for Austro-Hungarian officials to pry into Serbian affairs and investigate on Serbian ground all the circumstances surrounding the Serajevo murder case. It is



Keystone

COUNT STEPHAN TISZA
The Hungarian War Premier Photographed in his ceremonial attire

safe to assume, however, that had Serbia, on her own account, started an independent investigation immediately after the murder was committed, much of what later happened, perhaps the whole war, might have been averted.

However this may be, history itself proves that Austria-Hungary had good precedent for demanding such an investigation on the territory of another State, especially when that State was Serbia. It was subsequently established beyond a shadow of a doubt that Serbia had done the very same thing to Austria-Hungary. In 1869, after the murder of the Serbian Prince Milos Obrenovitch, and after some of the accomplices of the murderers had fled to Hungary, the Serbian Government asked permission from Hungary to allow Serbian officials (the State Attorney of Belgrade and his assistants) to come to Hungary and to take depositions with witnesses in Ujvidék-Neusatz and Zimony. The Hungarian Government gladly complied with this request of her neighbor. These facts are confirmed by the contemporaneous reports of Benjamin Kállay, then Consul General of the Monarchy in Belgrade, to Baron Beust, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, and by the remarkable manifesto published in the French language under the auspices of the Serbian Regency of Three (consisting of M. Biasnavatz, J. Ristitch and J. Gavrilo-vitch) and posted on all public squares in Belgrade.

This fact is also extremely interesting, for it proves that in an almost identical situation Hungary did not invoke the help of the great world powers to protect her against an injury threatening her sovereign rights. The world in general took this interference in Hungary's internal affairs very calmly. Perhaps if more self-restraint and sober judgment had been used in 1914 the world might also have taken the alleged interference of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Serbian internal affairs more calmly. What would this not have meant for the peace of the world?

Another outstanding fact is that

Count Tisza had nothing whatever to do with the ultimatum addressed to Serbia, this ultimatum having been drawn up by Baron Musulin de Gomirje, who is of Southern Slav origin. In his memorandum, published herewith, the attitude Count Tisza took on this question is clearly shown. *What he wanted was an earnest but in no way threatening note, couched in severe tone, as required by the circumstances of the situation.* He would have accepted something that represented a sort of diplomatic defeat of Serbia *which could not really have humiliated her too much, but would have taught her a lesson.* Any self-respecting nation must take some steps to vindicate its national honor.

To show how unmerited was the stigma which for a long time remained attached to Count Tisza's name, I will mention his letter addressed on Aug. 30, 1914, to Count Burián, later Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary. In this letter Count Tisza expressed his hope that the war would soon end. The victories that the Austro-Hungarian armies had secured in Ukrainia and Volhynia in the beginning, apparently justified his expectation that they would defeat Russia. "*In the event of our victory,*" the letter continues, "*we must make a quick peace and we must do all in our power to let Russia and France down easy.*" There was also another letter which he wrote in August, 1914, to a relative of his, the Countess Margaret Zeyk. In this letter in which he deeply deplored the outbreak of war, he said: "Whatever the outcome of the war, it means always untold misery and tears to millions of individuals." Count Tisza throughout his whole life believed that even a victorious war always meant an economic defeat of the belligerent countries; that it was bound to cripple their economic outlook for a long time to come.

In September, 1918, I wrote Count Tisza, mentioning the Manifesto of 1869 above referred to, which I had just unearthed, and asking him whether he could not make use of this material in a

speech before the Hungarian Parliament. He welcomed the facts, thanking me for drawing his attention to them, and promised that he would use them in a speech a little later. That speech was never delivered. Tisza's untimely death deprived the world of many revelations of probably very important facts concerning the World War, which he sooner or later would undoubtedly have published.

The trial in Budapest in 1921-22 of Stephan Friedrich, former Hungarian Prime Minister, and hero of the counter-revolution in Hungary in 1919, on the charge of implication in the murder of Count Tisza, created a profound sensation at that time in Hungary and throughout the world. The outcome of the trial was that the charges were proved to be groundless and trumped

up by Friedrich's political enemies. The real murderers were convicted and sentenced.

All who knew Count Tisza intimately

during his life are unanimous in declaring that he was really an exceptional character, who preferred to die a martyr rather than to divulge facts which might have cleared him, but incidentally might have impeached others and might perhaps have been construed by some people as disloyalty of Hungary to her former allies, Germany and Austria. Has the World War brought out many such champions of unselfishness and loyalty? Great men's merits, it is said, are usually acknowledged after their death. Posterity certainly owes this



COUNT LEOPOLD VON BERCHTOLD

Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1912-15

recognition to the memory of Count Tisza.

Documents Proving Tisza's Opposition to War on Serbia

THE two memoranda sent by Count Tisza to Emperor Franz Josef on July 1, 1914, and July 8, 1914, respectively, and the note on the military prospects of Austria-Hungary in the event of war (all of which documents are cited by Mr. Ludwig in the preceding article as historical evidence of Count Tisza's alleged opposition to the declaration by the Dual Monarchy of war on Serbia, following the assassination of Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand), are here published for the first time in their entirety, though extracts have appeared in one or two war books and pamphlets. The text of the three documents follows:

1.

TISZA'S FIRST MEMORANDUM TO FRANZ JOSEF (JULY 1, 1914).

Your Majesty:

Although I would dearly like not to inconvenience your Majesty in these days of gloom, it is nevertheless my duty to submit the following report to your Majesty's gracious consideration. After my audience I had an opportunity to speak with Count Berchtold and to learn of his intention to use the crime of Serajevo as an opportunity for a reckoning with Serbia. *I have not held back my opinion to Count Berchtold, to wit, that I considered this plan as a tragic mistake and that I would not share in any responsibility for it.*

First of all, we have as yet no sufficient evi-

dence at our disposal to justify us in holding Serbia to account and in provoking a war with her in spite of her possible satisfactory acknowledgment of our inquiry. We would, therefore, have the worst possible locus standi, would be branded before the whole world as peace breakers and start a great war under the worst possible conditions.

Secondly, I deem this time, when we have practically lost Rumania, without any compensation for her loss and when the second and only State on which we could count, Bulgaria, is exhausted, a very unfavorable one.

Under the given circumstances in the Balkans it would be my least care to find a *casus belli*. Should the time ever come when we must fight, many questions can serve as such opportunities for war. We should now, first of all, create a diplomatic constellation which would result in a relatively more proportionate distribution of forces than the present one. Bulgaria's definite siding with us, engineered in a manner not offensive to Rumania and leaving the door open for an understanding both with this latter State and with Greece, is a question which becomes more important every day.

A last attempt should be made jointly with Germany to bring about the open alliance of Rumania and her entrance into the Triple Alliance. In the event of Germany's unwillingness or inability to carry out this mission, she must agree that we secure at least Bulgaria's entrance into the Triple Alliance. Should we miss this opportunity for the sake of Rumania we should be to blame, if Bulgaria, forsaken by us, should one fine day throw herself into the arms of our enemies and assist them in our spoliation in order to gain a slice of land in Macedonia as her reward. After all, so far as Rumania is concerned, I believe that our alliance with Bulgaria would afford us the only possibility to regain Rumania. Taking into account the megalomania of the Rumanians, the decisive psychological factor for this people lies in its fear of the Bulgarians, and it may perhaps seek admittance into the Triple Alliance in order to be protected against Bulgarian aggression.

These are the primary points of view which, as I view the situation, make energetic action a matter of paramount importance. As the imminent visit of Emperor Wilhelm may possibly afford an opportunity, I deemed it my duty to submit the respectful request to your Majesty that Emperor Wilhelm's presence in Vienna may be utilized to invite him to assist us wholeheartedly in the carrying out of our Balkan policies.

(Signed) COUNT STEPHAN TISZA.

2.

TISZA'S SECOND MEMORANDUM TO
FRANZ JOSEF (JULY 8, 1914).

Your Majesty:

The auspicious news which has reached us from Berlin, together with the well-justified anger at the happenings in Serbia, has matured the intention of the members of yesterday's joint Ministers' Council to provoke a war with Serbia in order to settle with this arch enemy of the Monarchy once for all.

I was not in a position to adopt this plan in its entirety. Such an attack on Serbia would very probably result in Russia's intervention and consequently in a world war, and I consider Rumania's neutrality in this connection, in spite of Berlin's optimism, very doubtful. There is no doubt that public opinion in that country would flame up in a demand for war with us, and the present Rumanian Government, as well as King Carol himself, would have a very hard time to withstand this pressure. In the event of such a war, both the Russian and Rumanian armies would have to be counted among our enemies, whereby the chances of our winning the war, as can be seen from the annexed note [on the military prospects] would be reduced to a minimum. *Under the given circumstances I could not agree with such an action*, all the less so, as we have achieved full success in Berlin, in the sense that no further obstacles will be put in the way of a consistent, active and promising policy in the Balkan countries. * * * This arrangement justifies our hope that we could later accept the challenge of a world war with better prospects, *should such a calamity ever be forced upon us*.

To my question, how the conditions of armaments everywhere in the other countries would change in the coming years, the Chief of our General Staff answered, after some hesitation: "Rather to our prejudice." This answer allows the deduction that the military changes would not be of such importance and could be more than made up by the favorable conditions in the Balkans.

It would be superfluous to review here in detail our repeatedly discussed plan of action to improve our situation in the Balkans. Bulgaria's alliance with us would be the first step in this direction and would enable us to oust Russia from her present position. After this is accomplished we should then immediately concentrate our efforts toward a permanent clearing of the relations between Bulgaria and Greece, where the chances are favorable, in spite of certain difficulties in the situation; and on the other hand, with the assistance of Germany, we should exercise a certain pressure on

Rumania. Although Bulgaria's alliance with us would create some excitement in Bucharest, it would undoubtedly influence Rumania's decision. Things would thus be much better for us than they are now. Even in the worst case, however, we may reckon with the possibility of a friendly neutrality of Greece after a few years and also count on keeping Rumania inactive through a strengthening of Bulgaria's position, while a considerable part of Serbia's army would be kept in check by a Bulgarian action in Macedonia.

To recapitulate: A war provoked by us now could be carried on only under very unfavorable conditions, while a postponement of this final reckoning—if it must come—provided we make good diplomatic use of the delay, will lead us to a betterment of the balance of power. If, to all these important political considerations, I add the state of our finances and our economic situation, which are a tremendous handicap to our warfare and which would render the sacrifices and sufferings imposed by war on our population almost unbearable, I cannot, after a minute and conscientious survey of the situation, share in the responsibility for the proposed aggression on Serbia.

I am, of course, far from advising a hesitating and inactive policy against Serbia. We cannot remain the passive witnesses of the intrigues that are plotted against us in this neighboring country and of the schemes to induce our own nationals to commit acts of high treason and prepare murderous plots. Press comments (not limited only to the unofficial papers), as well as statements of diplomatic representatives accredited in foreign countries, manifest such sentiments of hatred and such an absence of all international tact and propriety, and the impression of all these symptoms, here and abroad, must so weaken the respect of other nations for the power and efficiency of our monarchy, that fundamental considerations of our prestige and safety compel us to adopt an earnest and energetic attitude against Serbia. I am not advocating a policy of silence under these provocations and am ready to bear the responsibility for all consequences of a refusal of Serbia to comply with our just demands, whereby war would become inevitable. It is my opinion, however, that Serbia must be given a chance of avoiding war by what—it is true—would amount to a serious diplomatic defeat, and if it comes to war, it should be proved to the satisfaction of the whole world that we had been driven into it solely through motives of self-defense.

We should address an earnest, though in no

way threatening, note to Serbia, specifying our particular complaints and presenting her with concrete proposals. I have in mind, for instance, the statements of the Serbian diplomats, M. Spalajkovic in Petersburg and M. Joanovic in Berlin; the origin of the bombs found in Bosnia which can be traced back to the State arsenal of Kragujevac; the fact that compromised and arrested subjects of the monarchy were provided with false passports, issued by Serbian authorities, when they crossed the frontiers, and the seditious statements of Serbian officials and officers. *I trust that these facts will be established beyond any doubt before any action is taken.* I may also mention the well-known abuses in connection with the Serbian press, societies and schools, of which we have repeatedly complained, and for which remedy and, if possible, satisfaction should be asked.

If Serbia gives us an unsatisfactory answer or wishes to drag out the matter we should answer with an ultimatum, and after the expiration of this ultimatum with the immediate opening of hostilities. In this event we would have a war which would have been imposed upon us. A war of this nature every nation which desires to live the existence of a well-regulated State must valiantly sustain. On the other hand, we should have clearly placed the guilt for the war where it should lie, that is, upon Serbia, who would then be in the position of having provoked the war because she refused, even after the crime of Serajevo, honestly to carry out her duties toward a neighboring State.

Such a procedure on our part would increase the chances of German action in Bucharest and perhaps prevent Russia from actively participating in the war. It is to be assumed that England would exercise pressure on the other Entente powers in this direction and it would be made clear to the Czar that it can hardly be his duty to encourage anarchistic plots and anti-dynastic murders. In order to avoid complications with Italy, to insure the sympathies of England and to secure Russian neutrality, we would also have to declare in due form and at the proper time that it is not our desire either to destroy or to annex Serbia. After a successful war Serbia would perhaps have to lose some territory to Bulgaria, Greece and Albania, *but we should confine ourselves at the very most to demanding certain strategically important frontier regulations.* We would, in this event, have a certain claim for an indemnity for our war expenses, which would give us security for a long time to come from any further threats from Serbia.

This should be the scope of our proposed action. *If Serbia yields, we should accept this solution in good faith and should not deprive her of the means of a retreat. We should in this event content ourselves with the curbing of Serbia's overbearing vanity and the infliction on her of a grave diplomatic defeat, and we should then take a firm hand in the affairs of Bulgaria and the other Balkan States, all the more so as the diplomatic success with Serbia would certainly have a good effect on our respective negotiations.*

I have had the honor of submitting to your Majesty in a specific manner my views in the premises. I am fully cognizant of the heavy responsibility which in the coming days every one will have to share who enjoys the great honor of your Majesty's confidence. Conscious of the fact that the burden of responsibility will be equally weighty, whether the decision be for an active policy or for the avoidance of all aggressions, *I have the honor, after minute consideration of all elements pertinent to the case, to advise the adoption of the "golden mean" specified above, which does not exclude a peaceful outcome and increases the chances of the success of such a war should it prove to be unavoidable.*

It will be my duty in the Minister's Council which is called for tomorrow to fix the attitude of the Hungarian Cabinet. For the time being I can merely give my expression to my own feelings, *that I would not be in a position, in spite of my devotion to the service of your Majesty, or rather because of it, to bear the responsibility for an exclusively aggressive solution in the premises.*

(Signed) COUNT STEPHAN TISZA.

3.

TISZA'S MEMORANDUM ON MILITARY OPERATIONS IN CASE OF WAR

(JULY 8, 1914)

(BASED ON THE SPECIFICATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF)

All our army corps will be used in the

northern war zone, with the exception of three, which would be available against Serbia. Against Rumania we can muster only smaller formations of the second line. Assuming that this is the distribution of our troops, we would in all probability have forces of equal strength with the Russian troops facing us, while the German troops posted on the eastern frontier of the German Empire would, at least in the first period of the war, have to face very superior Russian forces.

Our southern army would hardly be in a position permanently to hold in check the superior Serbian forces, while we could offer no serious opposition to the advancing Rumanian troops. All the Russian Army would have to do would be to dodge a quick decision which, in the event of victory, would free part of our troops for the protection of our southern and southeastern frontiers, and to wait until the Rumanian Army invaded Transylvania, incited riots and uprisings in the parts which are inhabited by Rumanian nationals and threaten the rear of our army fighting against the Serbians. The defeat of this army would open the way for the enemy forces to Budapest and Vienna and decide the fate of the whole campaign.

Although I have repeatedly drawn attention to the immense danger of demilitarizing our frontier toward Rumania and have asked that jointly with the German military administration we should reserve at least two army corps for the protection of Transylvania, Baron Conrad assured me that there were no troops available for this task.

May I also be permitted to remark that Bulgaria would scarcely be able, in her present exhausted state, to tie up a considerable part of the Rumanian Army, all the less so as an intervention of Bulgaria in this war against Serbia would, in all probability, even today, mean the raising of the *casus foederis* for Greece? (Signed) COUNT STEPHAN TISZA.



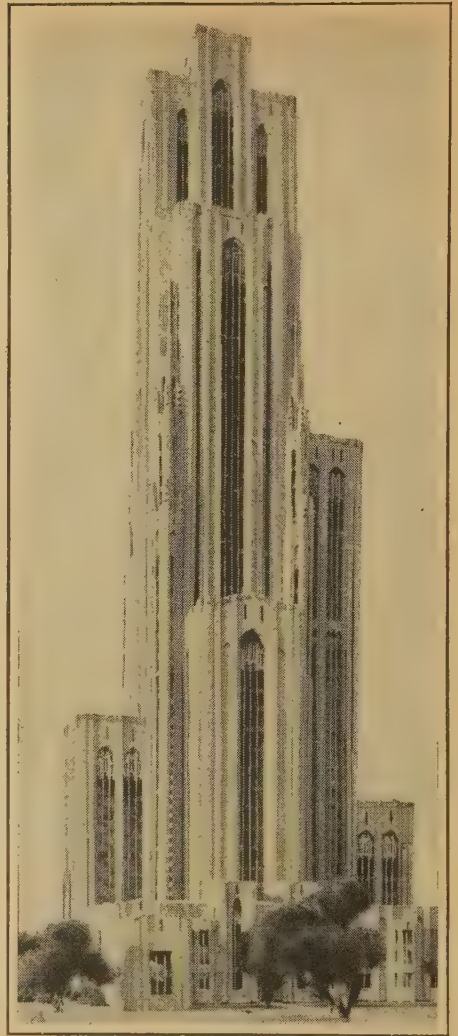
America's Titanic Strength Expressed in Architecture

By C. HOWARD WALKER

WHAT is most impressive in American architecture? Not the knowledge of design alone or the exquisite attention to detail which is being extolled elsewhere, but the inspiration of its overwhelming structures.

One who arrives in the lower harbor of New York and sees the buildings rising above the harbor mists into the sunlight and swept by alternating effects of light, shadow and cloud, with at times a tower flashing out above the shades of deep valleys between these peaks of human achievement, receives the impression of a dream city, suspended in the air. Each new angle of observation discloses a new combination of form and light effects. Perspectives that are lost in far distances suggest unlimited possibilities. Forms dissolve into new groupings, and each is mysteriously suggestive of further interesting environments. It is vast and awe-compelling.

Mr. Walker is a native of Boston and as a student of architecture served on the archaeological expedition to Asia Minor in 1881, and then traveled for two years. He began practice in his profession in Boston in 1884 and has been a lecturer at the Museum of Fine Arts, the Institute of Technology, the Lowell Institute and Harvard University. Since 1913 he has been Director of the Boston School of Fine Arts, is a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects and has taken a prominent part in various artistic activities of both national and local importance. He is editor of *The Architectural Review* and a writer on decoration and architecture.



Wide World.

The new building to be erected for the University of Pittsburgh. It is to be 680 feet high. (Charles Z. Klander, architect)

Enter these streets and squares, around which, story above story, tower façades which lead the gaze constantly upward. There are but few effects in nature which are more impressive. The setting back of the walls in terraces has made each building a single stepped pyramid as great as the pyramids of ancient Egypt. The Grand Canyon of the Colorado, which is one of the wonders of the world, has a strange resemblance to the canyon-like streets of a great American city. The buildings of

man may not be as high, though some of them reach an altitude of over a thousand feet, but they are stupendous in effect because of the depths between them. It seems incredible that they should be the work of man, and that they should have evolved in so short a span of time as the last half century.

Steel and concrete have made them possible, but the energy of a people and the overcoming of many obstacles has tended towards their production. America has created an architecture of its own, characteristic, unique, exemplifying the demands, not of individuals, but of a nation.

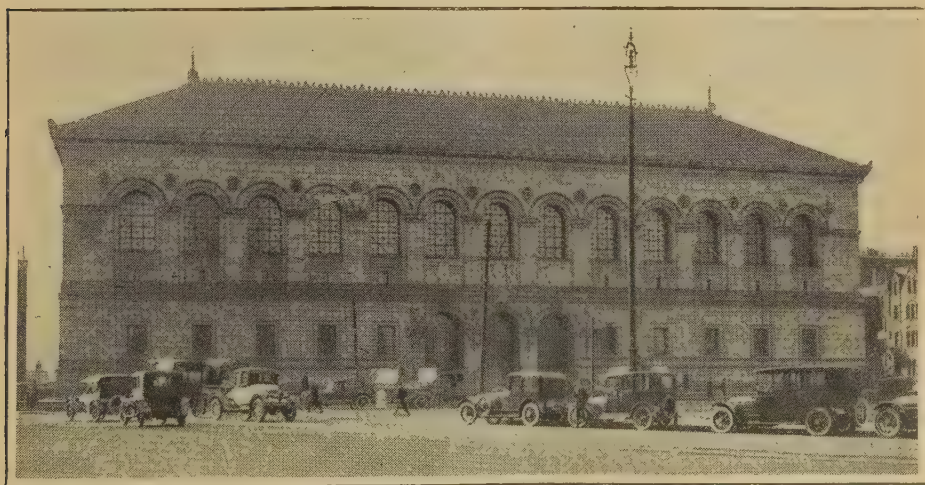
COLOSSAL ARCHITECTURE THROUGH AGES

Great demands adequately expressed have always produced impressions which have profoundly moved mankind. Whether they are the outcome of religious fervor, of patriotism or of the fine arts, the very magnitude of the subject arouses an admiration that is compelling. Especially is this the case with great architecture, which, by its towering masses, its broad surfaces, and its fascinating effects of light and shade, imperiously demands attention. Each period has reached its culmination in

the material expression of large ideas in large spaces, in long vistas and in a harmony of expression which unites the various masses into an inspiring unity.

At each climax of a nation's development, it is the impulse toward colossal work which has set its stamp upon the acknowledged type of the time and has caused that work to be considered characteristic of the nation. The gigantic pyramids and great temples with massive pylons are always associated with Egypt, the vast amphitheatres and imperial baths with Rome, the high walls with many towers and frowning gateways with the grim days of medieval warfare, the soaring western towers and spires, great apses and windows and high naves with the splendor of ritual as it existed in the cathedrals of the so-called Gothic styles in France, England and Spain. And when, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, domes based on drums bubbled up into the sky, inspired by the lower but vast spanning domes of earlier Byzantium and Rome, they epitomized by the very size and audacity of their achievements the ambitions of the Italian Papacy.

It has always been the architecture of grand conception which has been acknowledged as typifying the style of a



Ewing Galloway

Public Library, Boston, an example of Italian renaissance style. (McKim, Mead & White, architects)

nation. The most potent quality to impel permanent recognition is that of colossal size. The earliest and most persistent desire of mankind is to express power, grandeur and even nobility by objects larger than are required by the mere necessities of life. In fact, the term "monumental" can seldom be justly applied to work that is not of heroic size. Man enjoys overwhelming effects of extraordinary power. The simpler these titanic expressions are, the more they satisfy him. They appeal to his imagination, to his reverence; they transcend all petty things. Pyramids, obelisks, domes and vast vaulted ceilings have an inspiring suggestion of the superhuman.

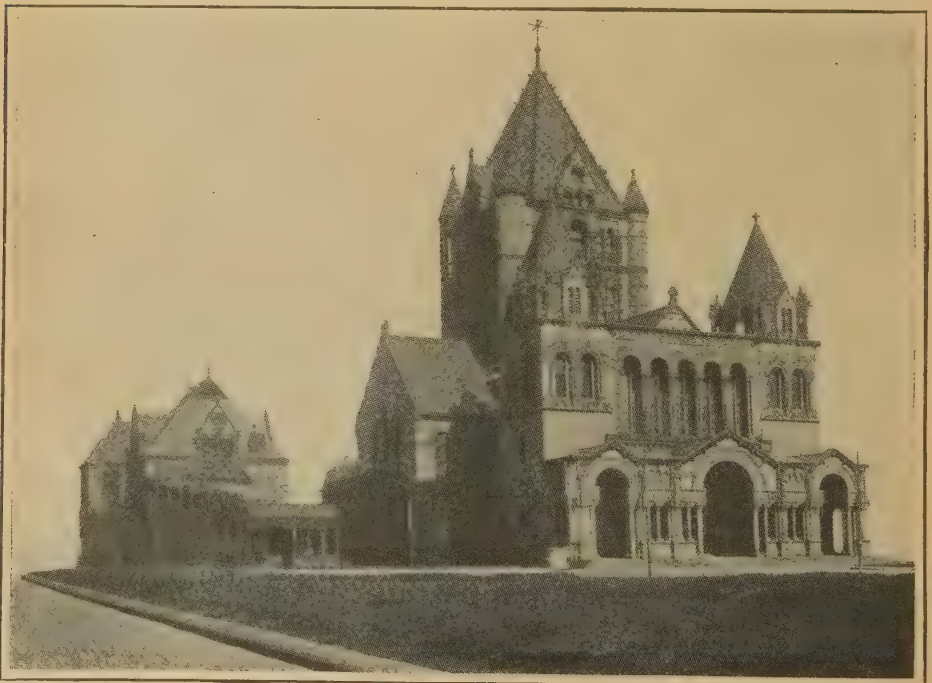
It is the same with him in nature. Unbounded sweeps of plain, desert and sea; peaks lifted into the clouds, giant trees, titanic canyons, he views open-eyed and with the awe occasioned by all manifestations of power. If it is agreed that the large conceptions of architecture have been associated with the na-

tions which produced them, it is natural to assume that no nation has thoroughly developed its own architecture until it has unanimously stated it in large terms.

To take the case of our own nation, until some pervading motive appeared in America which demanded great expression no great individual architecture could be expected.

BEFORE AMERICA USED STEEL

This has literally been the case, but only as the result of a sudden and subsequently swift development. As fast as colonists settled in the United States they designed their buildings in the manner of the mother countries, whether those were England, France, Holland or Spain, and though building in wood forced some minor differences, the efforts of the past were imitated in the present. All great architecture is based upon the fulfillment of purpose, linked with adequate construction with the materials at hand and the attainment of visual beauty in the process of achieve-



Trinity Church, Boston, an example of French romaneseque, built in 1876. It has been described as "one of the ten most notable buildings in the United States." (H. H. Richardson, architect)



Ewing Galloway

The Flatiron Building, New York City, one of the most striking of the earlier skyscrapers. (D. H. Burnham & Co., architects)

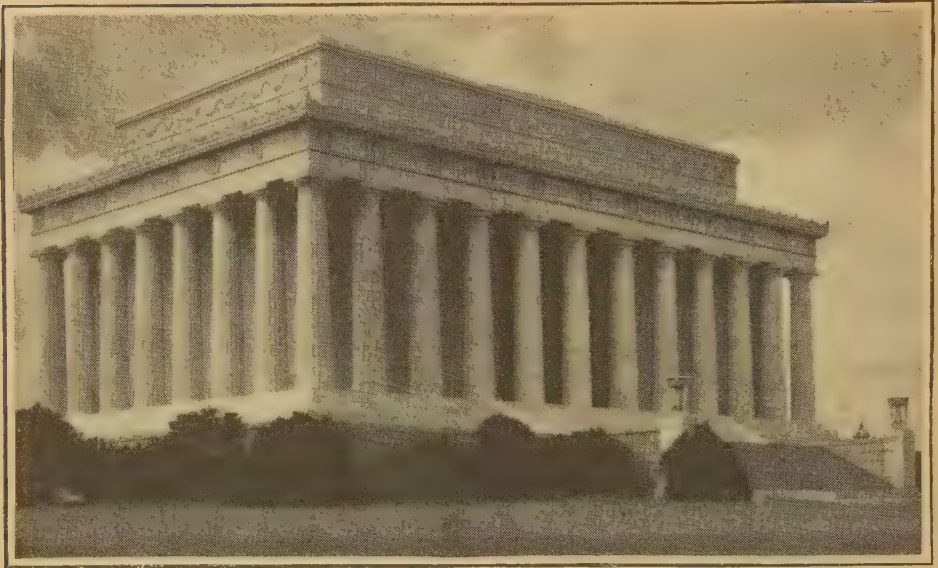
ment. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century in America no new combination of materials occurred, nor methods of building, and but few new creative purposes. The State and the Church built as of old. The house clung to the traditions of ancestry. No great demand required or developed expression in America. The many mingled traditions produced a heterogeneous, inharmonious set of buildings which had little in common with each other and

too often tried to make puerile purposes ostentatious. The result was the harlequinade which was characteristic of American architecture. There was excellent intention, much groping and no compelling need.

The effort to overcome this tendency led to the harmonizing study and fertile teaching of the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, evolving a theory based upon the consideration of large projects and still unconceived in America. But the means



The Woolworth Building, New York City, an example of Gothic style applied to a skyscraper. It is the tallest office building in the world, has 57 stories and rises 792 feet above the sidewalk. (Cass Gilbert, architect.) The building in the foreground is City Hall. The photograph was taken through an arch in the Municipal Building



Ewing Galloway

The Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D. C., a splendid example of pure Greek style. (Henry Bacon, architect)

of expression and the demands of expression remained unchanged. All over the world youth sought the new and could not find it, for there was no new to find. As a result, traditional forms were distorted into monstrous fantastic shapes due to the chafing desire for a new means and method of expression. And then both came, and came in America, with the use of steel.

The nineteenth century was everywhere one of confusion in architectural expression and the twentieth is often burdened with the heritage of its predecessor. But the exact sciences, having no traditions to which they felt they owed an infallible allegiance, attacked all problems without prejudice and advanced with unprecedented speed toward new and tangible results. To the incongruities of an architectural masquerade were added fundamental changes which made the motley conglomeration of building types even more artificial and fatuous. There were two ways out of the dilemma—one to maintain traditional forms even though these were unsuited to the new requirements, the other to grasp the new conditions and to express

them artistically. The first was easier to do, for it made fewer demands upon thought and skill. The second was necessarily experimental and for some time remained in a state of apparent low development from which skill of expression developed only gradually.

DEVELOPMENT OF "SKYSCRAPER"

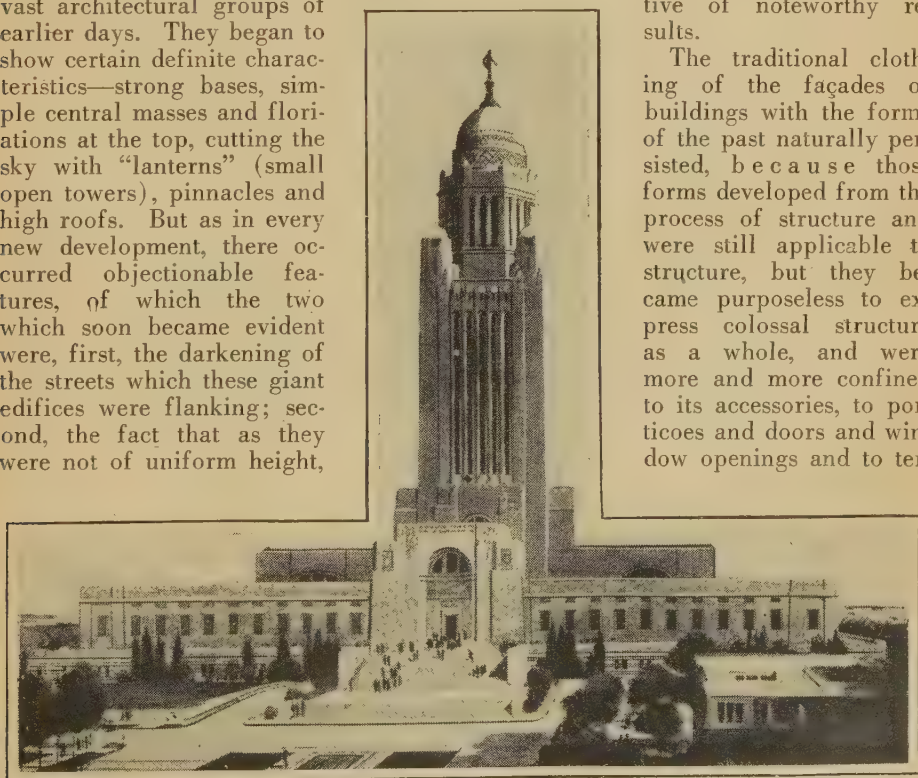
The newer type, however, did not reach an art worthy of admiration until it embodied great conceptions. The development of steel structure gave an opportunity for spans and heights unconceived before its use. This material, of great strength and less bulk, made itself felt in every function of structure, which began often to take the character of steel grills, cased for protection from extremes of temperature with clay products, concrete and stone. Steel is a somewhat intractable material so far as embellishment is concerned, and it was often used crudely, but it was the all-powerful factor in the great achievements of new demands. It was in America that its use developed most rapidly. At first, when buildings were at the utmost only six stories in height, the treat-

ment was still traditional, but almost coincidental with the advance of steel was the use of the elevator, which made accessible the upper stories of buildings of almost any height.

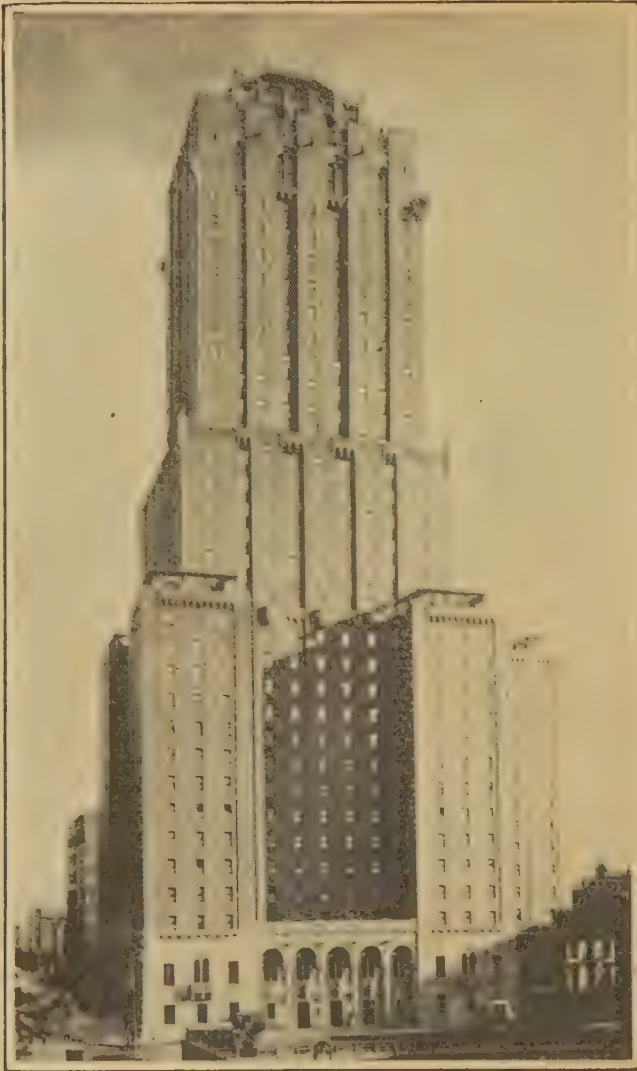
The skyscraper was the natural result. It was essentially American, and its ascent into the air was inspiring even in the earlier days when it was experimentally treated. The virility and vigor of upward growth stamped the silhouettes of cities. The towered hill towns of Italy—San Guignano, Volterra and Siena—were reproduced on a much larger scale in the cities of America, whose masses climbed into the sky. At first these new constructions were bizarre, perhaps even eccentric, out of proportion with their surroundings, but as they began to increase and form groups, they arose as dominant masses expressing power, exerting a similar effect upon the mind as the vast architectural groups of earlier days. They began to show certain definite characteristics—strong bases, simple central masses and flourishes at the top, cutting the sky with “lanterns” (small open towers), pinnacles and high roofs. But as in every new development, there occurred objectionable features, of which the two which soon became evident were, first, the darkening of the streets which these giant edifices were flanking; second, the fact that as they were not of uniform height,

the side walls, known as party walls, separating different properties and presenting a blank surface unbroken by windows, were often more conspicuous than the façades. It took a long time to solve these difficulties, and the attempts made were naturally in the form of restrictive building laws or city ordinances enacted to prevent injury to the general view and to the interests of neighboring properties. Two types of laws were enacted. One limited the maximum height of buildings, thus securing uniformity. The Boston law of 125 feet was until recently the most drastic example of this type. The other was the limiting of the wall heights proportionately to the width of the streets, but permitting additional successive heights where walls were set back from lot lines. In addition various zoning laws were passed, differing in the various cities, that of New York being productive of noteworthy results.

The traditional clothing of the façades of buildings with the forms of the past naturally persisted, because those forms developed from the process of structure and were still applicable to structure, but they became purposeless to express colossal structure as a whole, and were more and more confined to its accessories, to porticoes and doors and window openings and to ter-



The design for the new State Capitol, Lincoln, Neb., entirely modern in conception and style. (B. G. Goodhue, architect)



Sigurd Fischer

The Shelton Hotel, Lexington Avenue, New York City, built in 1923. This building of no definite style, though based upon the medieval architecture of Northern Italy, is generally regarded as the most original work of present-day American architecture. It is thirty-two stories high and the tallest hotel in the world. (Arthur Loomis Harmon, architect)

minations. The great torso of the skyscraper masses is belittled by petty details, and that fact is recognized in the latest American architecture.

There was, however, a constant reversion to type in the vast but low buildings of the great expositions of Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco and San Diego.

They resembled in their conception the courts and cloisters of the past and were wisely expressed in terms of the early monuments, as were the low-lying Government buildings—post offices, libraries, museums, railroad stations and so forth. But these were not the expression of American inspiration, they were

rather the expression of an appreciation of America's past. It was in the treatment of the distribution of edifices in the streets of great cities, in the housing of their transient visitors, in clubs, corporations, industries, spheres of activity, buildings where many people congregate, such as auditoriums, theatres and public halls, that the stage was set for the large expression which has become so characteristic of American architecture.

HUGE OFFICE BUILDINGS AND HOTELS

It is no longer merely big, it has become inspirationally great and is unique. Especially is this the case with the huge office buildings and the hotels, each one of them a city in itself. They are amazing in their capacity, in the completeness of their adaptation to all requirements, in their multiplicity of detail, all of which is an organic part of a titanic whole. The new means of construction and the new method of expression were used to answer a demand which could be adequate only when compassed in vast terms of space and mass. This demand was both sudden and intensive, and the response was immediate. The intrinsic necessary qualities of these buildings are so positive and require so broad a conception and treatment that styles become a matter of secondary consideration. The beautiful embellishments of the past can be used to grace these forms without injuring them, for detail is absorbed in their masses and great surfaces, in their repeated openings and in their tone and color. That some resemblances — family likenesses to ancestral types — should occur is merely an indication of evolution.

These buildings have the sane logic of all great organisms. Occasionally a new requirement has been solved in such a manner that it compels individual admiration, as in the case of the library stacks at the rear of the New York Public Library and in the projected central tower of the Nebraska State Capitol.

The growth of what is now universally acknowledged as American architecture epitomizes the growth of a great power, as was the case with the architecture of Egypt, of Rome and of the Church. It has been disparagingly said of America that commerce is her God, but commerce has always indicated intelligence, energy and consequent prosperity; and prosperity in some form is necessary for the erection of great architecture.



Ewing Galloway

The Standard Oil Building, New York City, which, though showing the influence of classic and renaissance architecture, is distinctly modern in its tendencies. (Carrère & Hastings, architects.) The building in the foreground is the Custom House

The moneys may be in the hands of Church, State or merchant princes; all these act interrelatively and the consequent opportunity, endeavor and achievement are enhanced threefold. Industries and utilities received little consideration in the architecture of the past. It was reserved for the present era to construct great industrial plants, mills and warehouses of an impressive appearance. The same impulses which sent buildings towering into the sky produced a desire to take advantage of the masses of the long walls, the tank towers and the elevator shafts of industrial buildings. This created also a typical American architecture humbler in its materials and embellishment than the great office buildings, but conceived in an identical spirit, and compelling admiration of a type of building which had been too often ignored.

TITANIC RESULT OF 300 YEARS

Architecture in America is less than 300 years old. In a brief period of time it progressed from the log cabin to the monumental buildings of great size. It took 1,000 years to produce the typical temple of Egypt, 500 years to bring the Greek temples to their culmination, 300 years to erect imperial Rome, and in each case the demands and requirements were few indeed compared with those of today. In materials, in structure, in purpose, the idea of the architects was simple and far removed from the multiplicity of materials, desires and methods which have been increasing for centuries. To assemble and to assimilate this bewildering mass of accumulated material is a gigantic task,

yet it is this task which the architect faces today.

The problem has been attacked in various ways, through archaeological study and artistic appreciation, through imitation and imagination, but in no case has the new type of architecture been built up from elementals more assiduously than in the latest work in America. The retrospect is one showing little initiative until a half century ago. Occasional scholarly efforts appeared, side by side with much untrained endeavor and a lack of teaching and therefore of accomplishment. Small demands and comparatively little public interest led to the adoption by the historians of architecture of a depreciatory attitude toward the progress achieved in America, and that progress was either casually mentioned or ignored. But now American architecture is voicing great interests and dealing with vast enterprises, and doing this with a courage which is at times audacious. No project is too great for its undertaking, whether it be the planning of great communities or the building of great cities. Even the housing of operatives has been undertaken in a comprehensive manner. The great avenues and boulevards flow into open spaces around which palaces are lifted into the air, the tops in the sunlight, their bases in the shadows below. Romance and mystery cling to the varied shapes of their roof lines and terraced walls upon which light and shade are always shifting. In storm or in sun they rise titanic, powerful and unique, the true architecture of America, created at last by a great compelling demand.



Recent Scientific Developments

By WATSON DAVIS
Managing Editor, Science Service

TRANSMUTATION of the elements is no longer truly novel. Rutherford has ejected the element H (which stands for hydrogen) out of a dozen or more of the lighter metals by bombarding them with the swiftest projectiles in the world, the alpha particles from radium. Then there is radium itself constantly disintegrating into other elements. But there is a breath of romance and avarice about gold, and to create it from baser stuff has been the dream of many generations of men. The claims of Professor A. Miethe and H. Stammreich of Berlin, who report that they have found minute traces of gold in quicksilver used in a mercury vapor lamp operated for several hundred hours at low voltage and amperage, have therefore been received with considerable interest. Since large amounts of power, amounting to a consumption of 2,000 watts, were necessary to produce such small amounts of gold as 0.1 milligram, the cost of producing gold by this German method would be hundreds of thousands of times higher than the value of the gold itself, and therefore the process is commercially valueless.

The conversion of mercury into gold is admitted by American and English scientists to be possible, but the sufficiency of the energy used and the reliability of the tests applied by the Germans for the detection of the gold have been questioned. Dr. R. A. Millikan, winner of the Nobel Prize for physics last year, points out that "reliable results are very difficult to obtain because traces of gold are practically always found in mercury anyway." Professor W. D. Harkins of the University of Chicago, well known for his work on atomic structure, declares that in the mercury

vapor lamp with which Professor Miethe claims to have produced gold, the energy brought to bear upon the atoms of mercury is exceedingly small in comparison with the amounts of energy in all actual artificial disintegrations thus far accomplished. Professor Harkins adds:

According to accepted theories it also seems probable that such small amounts of energy would not be able to penetrate the outside of the atom to get at the nucleus at all. Experts in this field will not trust any reports of atomic disintegration by large or small currents, unless voltages of millions of volts have been used, until they are supported by experimental work carried out with the most extreme precautions in such a way as to give definite evidence that the results claimed have been obtained. Mercury would be converted into gold if a hydrogen nucleus were lost from or an electron added to mercury's nucleus. I have bombarded argon nuclei by helium nuclei with an energy corresponding to 5,000,000 volts without their disintegration.

The products of Professor Miethe's experiment were analyzed in the laboratory of Professor Fritz Haber, famous for his work on nitrogen fixation. Professor Haber, when in this country recently, said silver as well as gold was found in the samples submitted. This was taken to indicate that both silver and gold were present as original impurities of the mercury, since they are usually associated together in mercury ore. Dr. Frederick Soddy, the English chemist at Oxford, stated in a British scientific publication that even in advance of the German announcements it appeared to him that not only was such a transmutation possible, but that it was inevitable unless our present views of atomic structure are radically at fault. He believes that the chemical detection

of the gold produced, not the transmutation, would probably be the more formidable experimental difficulty.

ROTOR SHIPS

A seventy-year-old scientific principle, easily understood by any one who knows anything about baseball, is the trick that underlies the new rotor ship invented by Anton Flettner. The smooth surfaces of the great cylindrical rotors, spinning in the wind, increase pressure on one side and decrease it on the other, just as the surface of the rapidly rotating baseball piles up a difference of pressure on its two sides and causes it to drift into a curve. The two tall, cylindrical objects that look like immense smokestacks, are the only propellers the ship needs. They are spun on their axes by small electric motors—twenty horsepower is all the present ship employs. As they spin they tend to carry a layer of air around with them. In calm weather this air would simply keep rotating about with the rotors, and nothing would happen. But when a wind is blowing, which would split and flow equally on both sides of the rotors if they were stationary, more of the air is turned with the direction of rotation than against it. That is, the wind is split unequally. The part that travels along with the surface of the rotor blows faster, momentarily, than the part that travels against the direction of motion of the other side. The wind that has its motion slowed down naturally tends to pile up pressure at the point where the slowing occurs, while the wind that is helped to flow faster tends to lower pressure at the point where the impetus is given. When the wind is blowing across the ship the rotors are revolved in such a direction that the pressure is built up behind them and lowered in front, so that the craft moves forward.

This effect is known variously as the Magnus or Bernoulli principle, after the scientists who first made critical examinations of the phenomenon, in the middle of the nineteenth century. It has been noted in the drift down the wind of rapidly rotating rifle bullets and artil-

lery projectiles, but Herr Flettner is the first, so far as known, to attempt a commercial application. One incidental advantage is claimed for the rotor ship that sets it ahead of either steam or sailing vessels. It can be turned on its own centre by rotating the towers in opposite directions. It is claimed also that the ship can be stopped very quickly by reversing the direction of rotation of the towers. There has been considerable question as to the stability of a rotor ship in a storm, but the inventor claims that the surface exposed to the tempest by the rotors is not so great as that exposed by the bare rigging of a close-reefed sailing ship. Since rotor ships must have wind in order to move, they would be competitors only of sailing ships. Since the pressure difference must always be built up by a wind blowing across the ship in order to move it forward, the rotor ship is like the sailing vessel in that it cannot sail directly into a head wind, but must tack across it. The sailing vessel has the advantage when the wind is directly astern, for then it can sail directly before it, whereas to the rotor a stern wind is almost as useless as a head wind. The ship used in the first demonstrations of the new device was the yacht *Buckau*, of 600 registered tons, built by the Krupp-Germania shipyard at Hamburg. The rotors are tall cylinders of sheet iron, approximately nine feet in diameter by sixty in height, one located forward and the other aft, and geared to turn on a central shaft by electric motor drive. The trial trip, which Herr Flettner claims was a full success, was made from Hamburg to Eckernförde. He states that a speed was attained, with the rotors running on twenty horsepower, equivalent to that of a screw-driven ship of the same size running on 1,000 horsepower.

Herr Flettner is an engineer with at least one successful invention already to his credit. During the World War he devised a type of balanced rudder for aircraft, which by employing small auxiliary vanes caused the main rudder surface to turn itself by the force of the

air current as it streamed past. This device, to operate which required but little muscular force on the part of the pilot, has since been widely adopted in airplane construction, and has also been modified for use on ships. It was in an endeavor to adapt the same idea to the handling of sailing vessels that Herr Flettner was led to the application of the Magnus principle and the invention of the rotor.

SEARCH FOR MISSING ELEMENTS

Professor C. J. Lapp of the University of Iowa is making a systematic search for element 61, which, though not heretofore detected by chemical or physical means, has had many of its properties predicted. Element 61 is known to be a rare earth, in the same class with cerium, whose oxides are used in the manufacture of gas mantles. There is a vacant space in the periodic table of chemical elements between number 60, neodymium, and 62, samarium, waiting to be filled. One faint clue to missing element 61 has been found by Professor Lapp. By examining some samples of rare earths carefully prepared by his colleague, B. S. Hopkins, he has discovered a single and very faint line in the spectrum produced by X-rays reflected on a photographic plate from the rare earth sample. This line is not claimed by any other chemical element and corresponds very closely in wave length to a line predicted on theoretical considerations as belonging to element 61. On this evidence Professor Lapp believes it likely that element 61 is present in his samples of rare earths in quantities of about 1 part in 2,000 or less. There are now only five missing chemical elements, including number 61. All the rest of the ninety-two elements, from the lightest, hydrogen, to the heaviest, uranium, have been discovered. Numbers 43, 75, 85 and 87 are among the missing. Many of the chemical elements have been first discovered in the spectrum and then found and isolated by chemical means. Helium was discovered in the sun in 1868 by lines seen in the spectrum of sunlight, and not until 1895

was it isolated by Sir William Ramsay. The latest conquest of physics and chemistry was the discovery of element 72, hafnium, by the Dutch physicist Coster and the Hungarian chemist Hevesy, working in the laboratory of Professor Niels Bohr in Copenhagen. Using first the X-ray spectroscope and then chemical methods, they discovered that hafnium frequently occurs in zirconium minerals and makes up about one two-hundred-thousandths of the earth's crust. It is more plentiful than the well-known metal, tungsten. The periodic table of elements, devised by the Russian chemist Mendeleeff in 1869, arranged the elements in logical order and allowed prediction of some of those then missing. Moseley, the young British physicist who was killed early in the World War, was able by applying X-ray spectroscopic methods to arrange the known chemical elements in an orderly series according to their atomic numbers. This classification is more enlightening than the Mendeleeff periodic table and has allowed more precise prediction of the properties of missing elements.

STELLAR AGE

When we sit back and dream about the world about us and the sky above us, we must realize that many, many years were needed to make things as they are. In the past the astronomer has been unwilling to give the geologist all the time he thought was necessary in order to provide for the evolution of the earth. But the new physics and astronomy of the past few years have pushed back the time limits of the universe. Thirty trillions of years is the latest computation of the time necessary for the complete evolution and life of a typical star in the heavens, an estimate made by Edward Condon, assistant to Professor A. O. Leuschner of the University of California. The earth is only a few billions of years old, geologists tell us after a study of radioactive rocks. The human race evolved in the course of a few hundreds of thousands of years. The greatest span of one person's life is little more than a hundred years. Yet

such intervals of time are mere flashes in the life of a star. Einstein, conjuror of time, space and matter, gave the clue to the secret of stellar age. His idea that mass and energy can be converted one into the other led to the explanation of how a star can exist for great periods of time, throwing off great amounts of energy, and yet continue to shine apparently unchanged in brilliance. Stars live on their fat, as it were. They gradually convert their mass into energy which they radiate away in the form of light. Young stars are giants, more brilliant and massive than fainter dwarf stars which have had their fling at life. Astronomers believe that the different kind of stars in the heavens represent different periods or ages through which all stars pass. Using this assumption, Mr. Condon arrived at 30,000,000,000,000 years as a rough estimate of a star's life. This enormous figure will comfort those who have been worried about the constancy and reliability of the earth's power plant, the sun. For the sun is a star; not a large one, and it is growing smaller constantly. Four million tons of energy are given off from the sun in the form of light every second. Yet the new figures on the age of stars indicate that the sun has been shining for billions of years in the past and will continue to shine for billions of years in the future without any great change in brilliance.

OIL-FINDING DEVICE

A scientific instrument that promises to be a sort of divining rod for oil, called the Eotvos Torsion Balance, is now being tested by certain oil companies in California as an aid in locating new oil fields. This instrument was developed over thirty years ago by the great Hungarian physicist Eotvos, who found he needed some supersensitive means of measuring the force of gravity

so as to detect its minute variations from place to place. However, it was a great many years later that the first suggestion was made that the balance could be put to practical use and it is only within the past few months that oil companies have become interested in its possibilities. Essentially, the mechanism consists of a light aluminum bar suspended from a fixed point by a fine platinum wire about a yard long. On one end of the bar is fastened a little platinum weight, while an equal weight attached to the opposite end hangs down two or three feet below the bar. The weighted bar tends to rotate under the influence of the force of gravity until it comes to a certain position of equilibrium. This position of rest is either read off on the scale provided or in the case of newer models registered photographically. The whole instrument is then turned in another direction, the new position of rest recorded, and the process repeated until enough data have been secured to calculate the exact value of the force of gravity at that station. Similar observations are made at other stations judiciously spaced over the area being investigated. The torsion balance gives no direct indications of the presence of oil-bearing rocks underground. It gives only an accurate picture of the variations of the force of gravity in the locality. It is then for the oil geologist to use this gravity data to help in working out the location of structures in the underlying rocks which are favorable for oil accumulation. Most of the important oil fields have been found to occur where the underlying strata have been arched upward. Where such conditions exist the older and generally heavier rocks approach nearer the surface and bring about a slight local increase in the force of gravity. It is in this roundabout manner that gravity measurements aid in the search for oil.

WOMEN'S PROGRESS IN 1924

By NANCY M. SCHOONMAKER

Writer and Lecturer; Leading Exponent of the Women's Movement
in the United States and Europe

IF one loves a cause and has served it, the temptation to cast up the balance sheet at this season, when all the world is counting gains and losses, is too strong to be resisted.

That balance sheet, for the year 1924, I shall at once admit, shows a balance on the wrong side from the woman's point of view. But it also shows every reason for continuing to hope and believe. Not a man or woman in the land who started with the conviction that it would be a good thing to give woman an active part in the political life of her country will count this year's returns as anything but a mere temporary lapse from the glad progress of the last few preceding years. Each woman will remind herself, as she has a right to do, that in those good years the great countries were mostly gathered in under the great banner of political enfranchisement of women. England and her colonies, the United States, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, the Slavic countries and many a smaller nation beside, all came in. France and Italy and Turkey gave promises. Majorities against were reduced in still other countries.

So the "believer" looks undismayed at the recent election in England, which reduced by exactly half the number of women in the House of Parliament, and took their first and only woman Government official out of her Cabinet post, and which might thus seem to have been a heavy blow to the cause of woman. As women see it, however, the forty-one women who stood for Parliament are conclusive evidence that women are growing used to thinking of themselves as *in* Parliament, and this change in the general attitude of mind is the really important thing. That only four out of the forty-one gained their seats may be a bit disconcerting at first glance. To the optimist it means only

that women must work harder and in closer unity next time.

In Germany some months ago the number of women in the Reichstag was reduced from thirty-five to nineteen. In the last election held on Dec. 7, 1924, there were no indications from the first returns published on Dec. 9 that this number had suffered any further reduction. Among those women who regained or won seats in the Reichstag were two prominent Democrats, one Nationalist and one Communist (the irrepressible Ruth Fischer). But though the number of women representatives has been diminished, this must be thought of as only a temporary backset, to be balanced against gains in the Prussian Diet and elsewhere, such as the admission of German women to the duties of juror and the winning of one Associate Justice for the Criminal Court.

America, the only other great country in which this year was held a national election of especial interest to women, has maintained its record and retained its own woman in Congress, but a Democrat this time, the first, and from an Eastern State, also the first to be listed in the cause. As in England, so in America we are recovering from that inferiority complex which has made us too modest to run. Many States were discovered to have women willing and adapted to represent their sex at Washington and who probably get less consolation than the rest of us do out of the fact that their loss may be balanced by the greatly increased number of women who came into our State Legislatures. East and West and North and South (if North Carolina is counted as South, as it should be), the creed of equality has begun to work. The political world is getting used to women. So used, in fact, that no record has come in of any gentleman having been

impelled to abandon his State of Texas or Wyoming because this year these States placed a woman in the Governor's chair. They come in, these two "lady Governors," heavily weighted with the heritage of their respective husbands; one, of Wyoming, dead but living in his wife's declared purpose to carry out his policies; the other, shrouded in a questionable shadow, but probably as full as ever of the will to power.

In New Mexico, by a shift of fortune, a woman rose from the office of Secretary of State to that of Lieutenant Governor. The Governor, one Summer morn, departed to attend a certain political convention in New York which lasted longer than it was scheduled to do. During his absence the lady Lieutenant acted as Governor and filled the post acceptably. Her former post of Secretary of State had lost its quality of uniqueness, for two other States, in the East and the South, respectively, New York and Kentucky, caught up with the West this year and brought in women Secretaries of State.

Turning now to the smaller countries in which gains of one sort or another have been made, we find the Union of South Africa granting women the vote. Mysore, India, equally just, passed a like measure. Spain gave the municipal franchise to women heads of families over 23 years of age, a privilege which went to 1,250,000 new voters. The Isle of Guernsey elected a woman to its independent Legislature; the Isle of Jersey gave its women the right to hold such office. Turkey granted "every Turk over 18" the right to vote and must now settle the question as to whether this is to include women. In Nicaragua a woman is carrying a like question to the Supreme Court. In India a new woman Justice of the Peace was appointed and a fairer division of the seats in legislative bodies was asked for. The French Academy opened its doors for the third time to a woman, one Mme. Dike, who came in to join the Queen of Rumania and Mme. Curie through the Academy of Agriculture. By another flash of generosity France also granted

her women the right to become public auctioneers.

Among the things asked but not granted—we must measure impulses as potential and therefore significant—was England's bill for the extension of the franchise to women between the ages of 21 and 30. The Scandinavian countries likewise have attempted, but not yet put through, measures granting women who marry foreigners the right to retain their citizenship. The Italian bill for equal rights died because Parliament was dissolved. The Panama Government refused its women the vote. Australia lost its one woman M. P. New Zealand, the leader in so many ways, rejected an equal pay bill and Finland defeated its noted woman M. P., Annie Furuhielm, who had sat in Parliament since 1914. The slogan used against her was that women cannot be trusted to agitate for defensive preparedness.

In a thousand other minor ways, the world seems to be getting used to us. Spain has its first woman Mayor—England now has six—who can rule if she cannot vote. For the first time also in Spain, women have taken part in the meetings of the Municipal Council of Madrid. Scotland has its first woman "Ballie" of Edinburgh; the Imperial University of Fokwoka, Japan, appointed its first woman on its staff; Japan granted its first woman an M. D. degree; India has its first woman Magistrate and one State—Madras—has extended primary education to girls; France gives to a woman its first chair in a literary college, the University of Lyons.

In the religious world the balance seems definitely on the wrong side. The Methodist women of the world lost the resolution which would have given them a vote in the pastorate. They were also further debarred from membership in church conferences and may not hold regular charges; as "local" pastors only may they be ordained, but that now carries the right to administer the sacraments. So the Presbyterian Church denied its women the right to vote in meetings of the Presbytery.

The Negro Farmer in the South

By WILLIAM SAUNDERS SCARBOROUGH

Eminent Negro Educator and Former President of Wilberforce University,
Wilberforce, Ohio.

THE negro farmer is the backbone of the South. Upon his success depends in a large measure the prosperity of the agricultural States below the Mason and Dixon line. It is therefore incumbent upon the South, if only out of self-interest, to extend all possible aid and encouragement to the negro farmer in his struggles, which today constitute one of the dominant social problems of the colored race; such cooperation on the part of the authorities would react both to the good of the farmer and to the benefit of all concerned—the section in which he lives and the country at large.

Though I believe that the present state of things so discouraging to the negro in the South cannot long continue, I have not yet been able to reach the conclusion that the wholesale migration of negroes from the South to the North or West is a good thing either for the negroes themselves or for the entire country; and I am especially doubtful of its advantages to the sections toward which the masses tend to drift.

The more I visit the congested parts of cities like Cleveland, Chicago, Philadelphia and New York, the more I am convinced that the best place for the average negro, if he is a farmer and if he is in any degree successful as such, is in the farming districts of the South. There he should remain and work out his destiny; he gains little by shifting the problem from the section where he is known to a section where he is unknown and where, as a rule, he will not find the sympathy and cooperation necessary for a successful future. Then, too, the presence of large numbers of

negroes in the cities serves only to render more complex the problems of housing, of health, of education and of government; the resulting congestion also renders vice and crime more prevalent. It is a well-known fact that wherever negro people gather in large racial groups, prejudice is intensified and the solution of the color problem is rendered more difficult and is longer deferred. Further segregation seems to be the inevitable outcome of negro migration northward, and the situation grows more acute with increasing numbers. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the negro in the North has the ballot, freedom of speech, opportunities and privileges, educational advantages and the protection of the law, all of which advantages he does not have in our Southern States. These are of priceless value, and in the negro's mind they counterbalance all else.

I am well aware of the odds against the race. I am well aware of its burdens and struggles on Southern soil and those handicaps arising from Southern prejudice; but in spite of all this and undesirable as it seems to be, I believe that the negro can and will make a future for himself even among those of the Southland who seem now hostile to his progress. I know that it will take time and patience, but the opportunity is his. It depends upon the individual.

Abundant evidence of the truth of this statement is seen throughout the State of Virginia and especially in Southampton and Nansemond Counties. In a recent investigation of the situation there, I found many negroes who owned land varying from 100 to 1,000 acres of the

best in Virginia. One was in possession of 3,000 acres. This was in a single county, and what is said of this county may be said of other counties in the State and also in other Southern States. Where the negroes are found in Virginia in great numbers, it is a common thing to find a negro owning from 300 to 500 acres of land and striving to add more to his possessions. We learn from available statistics that in Southampton County alone there are 2,626 farms of less than 100 acres; 519 varying from 100 to 175; 201 from 175 to 260 acres; 147 from 260 to 500 acres; 45 from 500 to 1,000, and 12 possessing 1,000 acres and over. Many farms of the larger acreage are owned by negroes.

Developments with respect to the growth of the Federal Farm Loan Bank offer another illustration of the progress of the Southern negro farmer. Twelve branches of this bank have been established to aid farmers by means of loans; these are located in twelve districts embracing the entire forty-eight States. Signal service has been rendered through these banks to negro farmers in Southampton County. As a part of my work while studying conditions there, I gave assistance in correspondence relative to this institution and helped in showing these farmers how to secure loans totaling about \$200,000. The colored agriculturists were thus able not only to purchase farms, but to get rid of debt for farms already purchased, to fertilize and improve and to meet the various demands of farming activities. One negro alone secured a loan of \$9,000—which is just \$1,000 less than the limit—\$10,000—set by law for any borrower, white or black. Other negroes received accommodations of \$5,000, more or less, to free themselves of mortgages that were in the hands of sharks and unscrupulous money dealers. This aid proved to be invaluable both as encouragement to those primarily interested and as showing others what may be achieved.

With thirty years allowed for liquidation of the debt, by semi-annual payments of a low rate of interest and 1

per cent. of the principal, it will not be difficult for these people to get on their feet. In and about Adams Grove, Southampton County, the study of negro farmers is especially interesting, as here the entire population, except for a dozen white families, is black. It is especially to be noted that both the whites and negroes are on most amicable terms; furthermore, my observations here showed that, contrary to the usually accepted theory, wherever the colored farmer has accumulated land to any great extent, numbering his acres by the hundreds, he is generally respected by the white people of his community. This aspect of the situation is one of its most encouraging features, since it induces the negro farmer to stick to the soil and to build up his future as others have done. An example will illustrate this situation more clearly. In Southampton County one negro farmer lives in a house which cost \$10,000 cash. He is the owner of large acreage. He is surrounded by a number of white neighbors having less land and living in less pretentious style, yet they are all on good terms, living without friction and in harmony.

Since the World War, industrial conditions have changed to such an extent as to precipitate an unusually large negro migration from the South to the Northern industrial centres. This movement is in part the result of a general trend from country to city and is traceable to the unrest which today is so manifest throughout the country. But there are other causes at work—these, the outgrowth of prejudice, include disfranchisement, segregation, the Jim Crow car system and the many lynchings common to the South, as well as the foulest of all crimes—burnings at the stake. Such inhumanities embitter the negro and cause him to leave the land he really loves, the land of his birth, the land he knows how to cultivate best, the people he has always known, and to go to unknown parts seeking safety and an equal opportunity. The negro is not a pioneer by nature. He has little or no migratory instinct.

He is a home-loving being and it takes tremendous pressure to move him from place to place. This movement is therefore one of compulsion. These compelling forces should not exist. They should be destroyed for the good of the nation as a whole.

According to census reports, in cities having a population of 25,000 negroes or more, there was an increase of 28.5 per cent. between 1900 and 1910, and a further increase of 42.2 per cent. for the following intercensal decade. Between the years 1910 and 1920 the negro population for the country as a whole increased 3.4 per cent. and the negro urban population for the same period increased 23.7 per cent. This shift of the negro of the South from rural districts to cities has peculiar importance, because of its effect upon agricultural life and its effect upon the negro himself when translated to the city.

According to the available statistics, negroes in all cities of the country, whether North or South, have had a greater decrease in birth rate and a greater increase in death rate than those in the rural districts of our country. This is due, for the North, to the conditions under which most negroes are compelled to live in the average city; the standard of living in these centres is deplorable, all rules and requirements of health being ignored. An example is found in the alley sections of the District of Columbia; the situation there is unfortunate and disgraceful, the colored population living in surroundings wholly unfit for human beings.

In the Northern cities, according to the same statistics, there were 114 deaths to each 100 births, between the years 1915 to 1919, while in the rural districts in our Southern States the death rate for the same period was put at 79 and the birth rate at 100. These figures are given to show that however large may be the number of colored people leaving the farms for Northern cities, the birth rate on these farms exceeds the death rate in sufficient proportions to overbalance eventually the depletion.

In Southampton County, Va., as a rule, the negro families are large, numbering sometimes from 12 to 15 children. It is common to see a family of 10. Some families comprise 18 and 20 children. One landowner of 300 acres is the father of 21 children, most of whom are living; this man also is the grandfather of 52 children.

CITY LIFE LURES NEGRO YOUTH

Aside from the northward migration, which can be traced to economic influences and the denial of rights, there is another source of farm depletion in the South. Large numbers of young negroes have left the rural districts and gone off to the city in search not only of the pleasure and amusement that home does not furnish, but also of better advantages for self-improvement and of a greater opportunity to come in contact with the world at large than could be had at home on the farm. This is especially true in the case of children who, educated to a certain scholastic grade—generally above the eighth—discover, on completing their school course, that their education has put them out of touch with the home life and conditions. I found many homes with no social life whatever; the girls had gone to the cities, while the boys, as soon as work was over, had gone elsewhere to seek the social opportunities which they did not find at home. Negro families are greatly hampered in this way. The mother and father, illiterate and ignorant of the value of education, are unable to keep their children at home; the younger ones, better educated, cannot content themselves with the isolated farm life of the parents. This frequently precipitates a breaking up of family life and creates great difficulties for the elder generation; uneducated parents of educated children often find themselves stranded in their advanced and declining years of life when left alone to carry on the multiple tasks of the farm.

The agricultural progress of the negro has been relatively high when given in percentages for purpose of comparison with previous census figures, but this

must not be allowed to obscure the real nature of his progress. The negro has labored under pressure since the day his freedom was declared. He may not have made the advance that the more optimistic observers have hoped for, but all who have paid any attention to the subject must admit that, considering his great handicaps, he has achieved much in the way of self-development. Nor should these handicaps be underestimated.

A BANEFUL CREDIT SYSTEM

One outstanding drawback to the success of the negro as a farmer is the iniquitous credit system which prevails in the South. This system has too often proved his ruin in that it has put him at the mercy of unscrupulous creditors. Frequently the farmer, unable to meet the claims against him, has lost all he possessed—both crops and home. Renters are also badly hit, sometimes; the landlord on occasion becomes a middleman between farmer and storekeeper, buying goods for the renter and assuming responsibility—a method which proves disastrous when the renter finds himself unable to pay. The landlord in such a case lays claim to the entire crop, leaving the farmer in absolutely destitute circumstances. It is therefore scarcely surprising that the negro so situated strives in some way to leave such conditions behind him, firmly believing he can be no worse off anywhere else.

After the Civil War many of the newly liberated negroes migrated North and left the farms where they had spent their lives, often leaving their old masters in a helpless condition as far as caring for their plantations was concerned. Some of these plantations were bought by other ex-slaves who paid a low price and became owners in turn. Thousands of acres have thus been transferred. In this way, too, many rich negro farmers in after years transferred their property to their children, who are now extensive landowners. Favorite servants in the post-Civil War days were often made the recipients of gift parcels of land, which also served to improve

the status of the colored population; some of the well-to-do negro farmers in the South today gained their possessions in this way.

In 1920 negroes operated 28.8 per cent. of all the farms in the South. At the same time only 6.8 per cent. of all farms and 3.9 per cent. of all farm values were in the hands of negro operators. In 1920 negro farmers of the United States operated 41,432,182 acres of land with a value, including land and buildings, of about \$2,257,645,325, representing an increase in ten years of \$1,334,927,622, or a rate of \$11,000,000 every thirty days. The negroes of the South constitute about 14.3 per cent. of the total number of farmers of the entire country.

This percentage of total farmers is often taken to show the slow progress of the negro farmers of the South and to emphasize the importance of economic and social studies of the negro farm operators. That there is need of research to ascertain the determining factors in the success and failure of the colored race in this field goes without saying. This question has been too long neglected. Men and women of his own race should be detailed and given an opportunity to bring to light the hidden facts touching the social and educational conditions of the negro in farm life. Such data would help toward encouraging farm residence and would reveal the true conditions.

SOUTHAMPTON, VA., AS AN EXAMPLE

My detailed study of Southampton County, Va., revealed many interesting facts and supplied much valuable data. Since 1790 the colored population of this county has been greater than the white population. In 1790 the total population of the county was 12,864, of which 559 were free negroes and 5,993 slaves. In 1870, eighty years later, the population had changed very little, although during this time there had been a gradual increase from 12,864 in 1790 to 16,074 in 1830, and then a decline for the following four decades to 12,285. The date of 1870 marked a dis-

tinct period in the fluctuation of the population of this county. From that time on there was a rapid gain in population until in 1920 the number of inhabitants had reached 27,555, of which 16,920 were negroes and 10,635 whites. It is interesting to note that the rise in population between 1790 and 1830 was brought about by an increase in the negro population of the county, and that, on the other hand, almost all the decrease between 1830 and 1870 was caused by a decline in the negro total. Since 1870 the increase was due to the growth of the negro population. The free negro population, which stood at 559 in 1790, was increased to 1,745 in 1830—a date that is historic for the negroes of that county because of the Nat Turner uprising, in which some fifty or sixty of the best white citizens of the State were, without hint or warning, put to death, and for which Nat Turner was executed.

A general survey reveals definite agricultural progress on the part of the negro. Census calculations show that he is gradually acquiring a greater proportion of farm property and in the various rôles of owner, operator and independent farmer he is holding his own as never before. In the State of Virginia negro farm owners in 1900 controlled and operated 4 per cent. of all the farm property of the State. In 1920 their holdings increased until they controlled 5.9 per cent. If we take into consideration the relative changes in proportion of negro farmers to white farmers, this is an equivalent to a net increase of 45 per cent. over the amount controlled in 1900. Following up these calculations it will be seen that the negro has increased his foothold on the total farm property of the South 10.3 per cent. A gain of only 10.3 per cent. control of all farm land in the South after sixty years of freedom will seem disappointing to some; considering the negro's handicaps and his original poverty, however, his achievements have been remarkable.

In Southampton County it is interesting to note that as the proportion of

white farmers declined in the county since 1900 the negroes gained in ownership in the same proportion, which bodes well for the progress of the race, as it shows a much more rapidly extending ownership than is on record either for the State of Virginia or for the South as a whole. It is unfortunate that the country does not know in detail of the tremendous strides the negro race is making in the acquisition and possession of land in rural districts everywhere.

NOTABLE CIVIC PROGRESS

At a recent conference held at Hampton Institute many interesting reports were made regarding negro farm life and the increase in the number of colored farmers in Virginia. As an evidence of the success of these farmers attention was called to what they had achieved in the field of civic development. They had established community clubs and had developed cooperative buying as a means of saving money; notable improvement also had been effected in home, school and church conditions. Progress of club work among negro boys and the growing interest in education on the part of both boys and girls were especially mentioned as an evidence of advance and as an instrument to hold the younger generation more closely to farm life.

The average well-to-do colored farmer, it should be remembered, is not prodigal nor is he a spendthrift in supplying his table or in meeting the needs of his family; he lives well, however, and he knows the value of a dollar. The Virginia negro farmers may be said to belong to a thrifty group. Virtually all are members of a church and of one or another of the many fraternal societies among them; and seldom are any of these affiliations neglected. Most of the negroes have automobiles and many own victrolas. So the home conditions improve. The Southern negro farmer is slowly coming to understand that patience and push and thrift will help solve the future for him as his foothold on the soil increases.

The Navy as an Effective Agency in Diplomacy

By WILLIAM A. McLAREN

American International Lawyer

FOR the better part of a century and until recent years American public opinion was deeply, almost exclusively occupied with home problems and unable to discern clearly events or tendencies beyond the three-mile limit. Our navy had grown accustomed to being considered as existing for fighting only. Yet fighting is but one fraction of the need for a navy. American history presents a happily limited record of naval encounters with an impressive proportion of victories. Our wars invariably have been begun not by the influence of the military, but by the will of the people. Guided by that tradition and restriction, the navy becomes much less a weapon of warfare, far more a preventive of war. Its main purpose and value to the nation consist in keeping the peace.

With the widening of our national horizon in matters of trade and finance, as well as in humanitarian endeavor and in the arts and sciences, our citizens, awakened to distant interests and broader responsibilities, more and more regard the navy and its splendid personnel as insurers against war and emissaries for the spread of American ideals. In this latter capacity our naval officers are the least known at home, and yet their services in diplomatic or quasi-diplomatic tasks have been frequently helpful and on some occasions have proven of tremendous importance.

The practice of sending naval officers as attachés to our embassies and legations began during the Administration of President Arthur in 1882. Since then we have had naval attachés more or less regularly accredited to London,

Paris, Leningrad (under its earlier name of St. Petersburg), Berlin, Rome, Vienna, Tokio, Peking, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago de Chile, The Hague, Copenhagen, Christiania and Stockholm, with intermittent assignments to other capitals. Among those in this corps were many of our ablest and most distinguished officers. Acquiring technical and political information, studying methods and practices of foreign navies and foreign Governments, disseminating knowledge of American ideals and procedure, these officers have aided friendship among the nations and worked for better understanding and higher aims. No notoriety has been theirs. No melodramatic achievements have brought them fame or made them conspicuous. But they have none the less rendered worthy service.

No reference to the American Navy can rightfully be made without mention of the celebrated John Paul Jones, whose remarkable exploits proved no small factor in winning the War of Independence. Many have regarded him as an adventuresome patriot; a few have called him a patriotic adventurer. It remained for Charles Oscar Paullin to present a less known side of John Paul Jones in those scholarly and delightful essays published in 1912 under the title of "Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers." When his naval exploits after the style of a "Pilot" or a "Seahawk" were concluded, John Paul Jones was commissioned by the Congress agent for the collection of claims against France and Denmark. Although these claims originated in deeds of Jones himself as an officer of the navy, the nature of his appointment

was essentially diplomatic and his duties were performed in a manner far from military. In France, where as a naval officer he had during the war obtained the loan of armed vessels, his efforts were eminently successful; in Denmark he met with refusal and failure. But whatever the results and however unimportant the claims were, his presence abroad was of material advantage to the young republic and he is entitled to a place near Franklin, Jefferson, Adams and Jay as one of America's earliest diplomats. Earliest and perhaps greatest, for those were days when we had to make our own way as a new fledged power, with novel principles of government that sharply conflicted, save in France, with Old World traditions and prejudices.

The first official recognition of our right to intercourse with China was secured by a naval officer. When the "Opium War" between China and Great Britain terminated, Commodore Lawrence Kearny, in command of the American squadron stationed in Chinese waters, learned that the treaty was to contain tariff and trade regulations. He thereupon of his own motion and on his own responsibility approached the Chinese Government asking for the "most favored nation" treatment for citizens of the United States. The Governor of Canton to whom Kearny addressed his communication replied: "Decidedly it shall not be permitted that the American merchants shall come to have merely a dry stick." The "dry stick" assurances of the Governor were confirmed by the Chinese Peace Commissioners and the trade terms of the British-Chinese treaty of Nanking, Aug. 29, 1842, were made to include the commerce of all countries as well as Great Britain. The way was thus paved for the formal treaty of commerce and friendship between China and the United States, signed on July 3, 1844.

COMMODORE PERRY'S MISSION

In 1854 Commodore Matthew C. Perry, acting under instructions of the Secretary of the Navy and the State De-

partment and carrying a letter from the President to the Emperor of Japan, succeeded in negotiating a treaty with Japan whereby Japanese ports, long closed to all Western nations, except for a slight foothold by the Dutch, were opened to American ships. Perry's conduct of this mission was distinguished by ability and tact. His experiences were tedious and vexatious. The Japanese had a strong aversion to intercourse with other nations and their spirit of exclusion was particularly inimical to Christians. Commanding what was then regarded as "a somewhat formidable and imposing fleet," but what nowadays would be called a motley handful of ships, Perry entered the Bay of Yeddo determined, as he said, "to demand as a right, and not to solicit as a favor, those acts of courtesy which are due from one civilized nation to another." He was not made welcome. He was ordered to leave. He proceeded, however, and found that the nearer he approached the imperial city "the more polite and friendly they became." Finally he delivered to two Princes of the Empire the President's letter and other credentials and documents and sailed away with the promise to return for a reply. A few months later he returned and got his reply in the shape of a treaty signed by himself and five Commissioners named by the Shogun, whereby Japanese seclusion came to an end. The following year Great Britain and subsequently other nations secured similar treaties with Japan.

Korea, the "Hermit Kingdom," was the last of the Oriental countries to maintain seclusion against the Western world. As in the case of Japan, one of the chief influences behind the desire of the United States to establish relations with Korea was concern about the fate of shipwrecked sailors. In 1866 the American schooner General Sherman was reported wrecked on the Korean coast and no information as to the fate of her owner, who was a passenger, or her officers and crew was ever obtained. Various attempts were made by the United States Government to trace the

lost sailors and at the same time to open up relations with the Government of Korea. Not until 1882 did the two nations come together in a treaty which was signed by two commissioners of Korea and by Commodore Robert W. Shufeldt for the United States. Shufeldt had had a wide experience in the navy and also in diplomacy; he had been Consul General to Havana, appointed by President Lincoln; he had been sent to Mexico on a confidential mission for the State Department; he had visited Korea in 1867 in the vain search for the crew of the General Sherman, and had commanded a surveying expedition on the Isthmus of Tehauntepec. His final negotiations for the treaty with Korea met with the same difficulties Perry had previously encountered in Japan and were even more prolonged. He was able to enlist the aid of Li Hung-chang, the Chinese Viceroy, who while cooperating in the furtherance of the general plan, complicated the negotiations by injecting the question of Chinese suzerainty over Korea.

THE SHUFELDT TREATY

The Shufeldt treaty was more comprehensive than previous treaties with the Eastern countries. It served as a model for treaties with Korea subsequently made by Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy and other countries. Shufeldt's mission was regarded abroad as a notable success, but it attracted little attention in America. As Paullin says: "Our people knew little or nothing of Korea and were not yet interested in the politics of the Far East. With the ruling powers at Washington the Commodore was out of favor, President Arthur did not mention him in his messages to Congress, and the State Department was none too prompt or cordial in expressing its appreciation of his services."

Recently the United States Government has made a departure in its use of the navy in the cause of international relations by sending naval missions to Brazil and Peru. Independently of the

military duties of these missions, the presence in two friendly South American countries of a body of representative naval officers of the United States is making friends for us and creating friends among us for those countries. Some one has expressed the fear that neighboring nations not visited by an American naval mission might feel some affront or regard the action of the United States as evidence of sympathy with the nation visited—sympathy to the extent of partisanship in differences existing between neighboring countries. Such differences no doubt exist, but neither the United States nor any other country can refrain from exercising its right to cultivate relations of amity with other nations or any particular nation. The members of the American naval missions, carefully selected and accompanied in most cases by their families, have settled down to extended residence in Rio de Janeiro and Lima and have become part, an intelligent and cultured part, of the life of those capitals.

FLEET AIDS CAUSE OF PEACE

Friendly visits to foreign seaports by our ships constitute an important peacetime service of the navy. These calls are naturally less known at home than they are in the foreign ports visited. If we should measure the interest and admiration and excitement produced in our own ports, even the largest ones, by the arrival of our own ships, we must multiply that estimate several times to get the effect of the appearance of American battleships or cruisers or destroyers in a foreign port, especially in countries where navies scarcely exist and modern warships are seldom seen. Such visits are sometimes construed as a menace and probably they have been now and then intended as a show of force for an incidental object, but that kind of bristling before might soon dies down in the face of expediency and the sane conviction that there has been no purpose of hostile aggression. Usually the voyage is by way of training and practice. Often it is for purpose of escort or transporting a distinguished

citizen of our own or some friendly nation. Not infrequently it is to carry relief in case of disaster.

Theodore Roosevelt probably of all our statesmen understood best the all-round importance of the navy, its "combined courtesy and strength." Though his famous order of 1907, sending the fleet on its world voyage, may well have involved an element of display of power, its chief demonstration was peaceful in effect. Certainly the prestige of the United States had never been better impressed upon the nations of the globe. He himself says: "In my own judgment the most important service that I rendered peace was the voyage of the battlefleet round the world."

Speaking on Near Eastern questions in an address before the Council of Foreign Relations, on Jan. 23, 1924, Secretary of State Hughes paid this tribute to the service performed by the navy after the Smyrna disaster:

These vessels have been of inestimable service to the representatives of the Department of State and to all American interests in the Near East. Through their radio they have furnished communication when no other means were available. They have transported American missionaries, philanthropists, relief workers and business men, saving days and weeks of time, when no other adequate means of transportation were available. They have assisted in the evacuation of refugees and they have been instrumental in serving manifold humanitarian purposes. It is a pleasure to commend the admirable work that has been performed by the officers and men of these vessels.

Many years ago a youthful American acquired some insight into the practical effect of appointing "deserving Democrats" or deserving Republicans, as the party in power might be, to posts in the diplomatic and consular service. He also chanced to make the acquaintance of a good many officers of the navy. His observations made him despond of our State Department representation abroad and rejoice at the calibre and quality of our naval officers. The former frequently were politicians of minor category, appointed from some village or town or suburb or ward. The

political appointee was very likely proficient in various kinds of activity; he was apt to be hopelessly unfitted for foreign service. The naval officer, educated to look offshore and to lands beyond the seas, was equipped from youth with a spirit of travel, with a knowledge of history and geography and foreign languages, with tolerance for the stranger's point of view, in fine, with international as distinguished from national or domestic vision. "Let our diplomats be chosen from our navy!" the young American exclaimed. "Given conditions as they then existed he was not far wrong. If sailors are commonly considered by homefolk blunt and brusque as well as unversed and ill at ease on shore, they are not so at sea or in foreign parts. Their knowledge of the world equals, perhaps excels, that of any other class, for expertness in matters abroad is part of the seafaring profession. One of our naval writers has called the navy a "large national university for the training of citizens." The deck of a ship and the foreign port give a man greater poise than the auditorium platform or the presiding chair. In the Winter of 1902-3 Secretary of State Hay, referring to a revolutionary disturbance on the Caribbean border, said to President Roosevelt, in the presence of Rear Admiral Taylor, that he "always felt relieved when the naval officer arrived on the scene, because he always kept within the situation."

Sea power, both naval and mercantile, and commerce, domestic as well as foreign, are all mutually dependent. Although at times in our history we have possessed a large mercantile marine and a small navy, that obvious inconsistency happened under conditions of long ago. The more recent record shows that when our foreign commerce was diminutive we had little interest in naval affairs and as our overseas trade increased our naval intelligence, so to speak, was sharpened. That trade, now become vast and growing with each decade, depends in more ways than one on the maintenance of an efficient navy.

The Unpacified Bedouins

Arabia's Wildest Tribes

By DR. EDWARD J. BING

Oxford Scholar in Oriental Languages and Former Turkish Official in the World War and Post-War Periods.

THE whole political situation in Arabia underwent in the three months of September, October and November, 1924, a complete transformation as the result of a series of sensational events bound up with intertribal jealousies and feuds, complicated by religious and other factors. The new situation, in which the Bedouins had their share, was precipitated by the outbreak of hostilities between Hussein, then King of the Arab State of the Hedjaz, and his main rival and potential foe, Ibn Saud, Sultan of the neighboring State of Nejd and head of the powerful Wahabi tribesmen, who have held a unique position in Central Arabia since the last 180 years and who, in a sense, may be called the Puritan Protestants of Arabia. During the World War both Ibn Saud and Hussein received subsidies from the British Government, and to fear of losing his subsidy was ascribed Ibn Saud's more or less successful endeavor to keep his fanatic and unruly tribe in check. After the armistice, however, the two rival rulers came to an armed clash. The Sultan of Nejd had never considered the Hashimite family, headed by Hussein, to be sufficiently pious and austere from the viewpoint of pure Mohammedanism. Saud subsequently was bitterly offended at King Hussein's assumption, in March, 1924, of the title of Caliph, many rival claims to which arose on the deposition of the Turkish Caliph by the Kemal Government. He also opposed the rule of King Feisal of the new Mesopotamian native State of Iraq, and of Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, these two rulers being the second and third sons, respectively, of Hussein.

Another motive for this resentment, however, was more immediate and more impelling, and this explains the reason for the present article. Mecca, as the

Holy City of the Moslems, has long been the goal of religious pilgrimages from every Mohammedan country. Rapacious tolls on these pilgrims and exploitation of the inhabitants of Mecca combined with the lack of control of the wild Bedouin tribes outside the city, who harassed and robbed the caravans or exacted heavy dues as the price of freedom from molestation, to arouse the deepest dissatisfaction in the Moslem world. Early in September the Wahabites attacked and took Taif, a mountain city sixty miles to the southeast of Mecca, and advanced on Mecca. Hussein, panic-stricken, made a desperate appeal to Great Britain for aid, but receiving no support, abdicated at Jeddah on the demand of the citizens of Jeddah and Mecca. Events developed rapidly; Hussein's son Ali acceded to the Hedjaz throne and fought a losing battle against the resistless forces of Ibn Saud; Ali, too, was ousted, and the Wahabites entered and took possession of the Holy City (around Oct. 15). Order and quiet prevailed and Ibn Saud announced that he had no intention of attacking Pales-

Dr. Bing is well known as traveler and scholar. He was graduated from Oxford University, England, where he specialized in Mohammedan philosophy and Oriental languages with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. After his graduation he went to the East, where he had an adventurous and interesting career. He spent three years in Turkey, Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia, and shared the life of the Bedouins of the desert. In Turkey he was brought into close contact with Mustapha Kemal, Chief of the present Turkish Republic; Ismet Pasha, Talaat Pasha, Djemal Bey and a number of eminent Turks of both sexes of princely rank. Dr. Bing organized the Boy Scout movement in various parts of Turkey and presided at examinations in schools for Moslem boys and girls. He lived with the Bedouins of the desert and shared their wild, nomadic life; the title of Bedouin Sheikh was conferred upon him. He has published many articles on the Near East, including interviews with Turkish notables. At the time this article went to press he was back again in Turkey living in Angora in close contact with the present Turkish régime.—Ed.



Three members of the Anese tribe of Bedouins on a visit to Damascus

tine or Mesopotamia and that he was most anxious to have the friendship of Great Britain. It was reported that he had appointed to take Hussein's place as Sherif of Mecca Ali Haida Pasha, then in Constantinople.

In these dramatic happenings the Bedouins, reckoned among Arabia's wildest tribes, contributed to the dethronement of the Arabs' most powerful representative and the exile of his whole dynasty from the Holy City. The casual reader would scarcely take any especial notice of this rôle played by a wild desert people in a political overturn in a Near Eastern country. The writer, however, who has lived with the Bedouins in their tents in the desert, and who has made a deep-going study of their history and mode of life, sees in this rôle a chapter of current history well worthy of recording. The following article offers this record of his observations and impressions while traveling through the Bedouin country and living with the Bedouins in the intimate intercourse of daily life.

Not so very long ago the writer with other members of a small party started out from Aleppo for a tour through the

Bedouin country. We had almost completed a day's ride and were already doubting whether we would reach in time the hospitable tents of our Bedouin friends. The enervating heat of the day had gradually subsided. The hilly stretch of the Syrian desert spread far beyond the horizon, bare of any tree or sign of the presence of any human being. Suddenly, as we gazed ahead, a few black specks appeared on the horizon, rapidly approached and soon developed into the outlines of a band of horsemen. We knew at once that they were Bedouins, and we could not, knowing general Bedouin characteristics, be sure of their intentions.

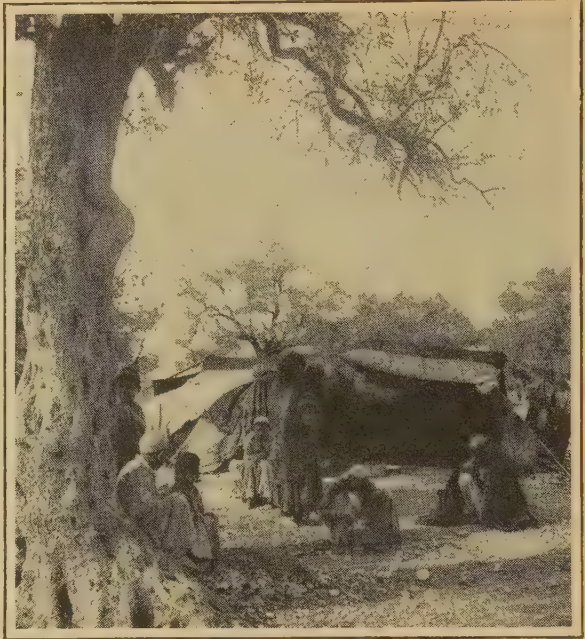
In less than ten minutes we were surrounded by about a dozen sons of the desert. Their faces hidden behind their headcloths, which left only the eyes free, they held their rifles in readiness as they rode up to our small group. One of the Bedouins, evidently the leader of the band, drew up within a few paces of me, shouting: "Wakkefu!" ("Stop!").

Familiar with Bedouin habits, our party immediately halted, and we held our revolvers and rifles ready to engage

in a possible fight, while Mustapha ibn Mohammed el Phar, my guide, asked the Bedouins what they wanted. "Under whose protection are you traveling, and where are you bound for?" was the question growled at us. "We travel under the supreme protection of Ibn Rashid, the powerful ruler whose word carries weight from Hail to the Turkish land, and whose authority you will not dare to defy," Mustapha replied. The name of Ibn Rashid, one of the most powerful chieftains of Arabia, had a magical effect. Our challengers stowed away their rifles, and let us pass with the utterance: "Allah vadeemak!" ("May God preserve you long.")

Resuming our journey, we presently reached a group of Bedouins who were grazing their camels. Again we prepared for the possibility of an attack, but we encountered a wholly different spirit. They had come to meet us, and we were escorted to the camping place, where we were awaited with general interest. Our host, by name Suleiman ibn Abdallah, received us near the entrance of his home. His wife carried carpets from the living room of the tent into the section reserved for guests. After removing our boots, we entered with the salutation: "Kawwak" ("Strength"). Greeted by the host with the usual treble embrace and kiss on each cheek, we laid aside our rifles and sat down with our legs crossed. Suleiman ibn Abdallah laid his hand on his heart and asked me how I was, and received the customary reply; "Elhamdullillah"—"Thank God," meaning "I am well."

While we were sitting there, Suleiman asked his wife to prepare the evening meal. A lamb was slaughtered, and long after we had finished the meal Suleiman kept asking us to eat: "Eat,



A Bedouin family in an oasis

O guests, and may Allah give you health."

After I had expressed our gratitude for the hospitality we had received we retired for the night. Before we withdrew, Suleiman said to me: "I know, O friend, that you take a sincere interest in us, and I am glad to be able to tell you that you will witness an important event in our camp tomorrow. The daughter of my cousin is going to be given away to Halil, one of our bravest young men."

A BEDOUIN MARRIAGE

The next morning brought one of the most interesting insights into Bedouin life. Soon after sunrise a great number of the inhabitants of the camp congregated in the tent of the bride's father. The company was composed of the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, also the functionaries of the occasion, including the representatives of the bridegroom and the bride, the witnesses and a number of guests. Then followed the bargaining which invariably pre-

cedes a Bedouin marriage. The Bedouin girl gets no dowry. On the contrary, it is the bridegroom who must pay a price for the girl's hand, a price that varies with the different tribes and clans, the average price for a bride being from five to ten camels and sometimes from ten to twenty Turkish gold pounds. The ceremony of the bargain, conducted strictly in accordance with prescribed formulas, soon commenced. The father, who was giving his daughter away, addressed the bridegroom's representative, and the following conversation began:

"How much will you give?"

"Five camel stallions and one mare."

"Oh, by Allah, is my daughter a slave? He will have to give me thirty camels and twenty-five pounds."

"You will make a bankrupt of him! For the sake of Allah cut down your price."

"How much will you give up for Allah's sake?"

"For Allah's sake I will give up five camels and five pounds."

"How much will you give up for the Sheik's sake?"

"For his sake I will give up another five camels and five pounds."

"How much will you give up for—?"

"Neither one camel nor one pound! By my father's memory!"

After half an hour's heated argument the parties agreed to a price of twelve camels and five pounds.

When the deal was complete the agreement was sanctioned, and the bridegroom declared: "I have agreed to pay you twelve camels and five pounds; but should your daughter flee from me you will give me two camels for each camel and two pounds for each pound." The father acknowledged with the remark: "Ah, don't say that, by Allah! However, if she flees from you my animals are your animals, as Mohammed and Ahmed here will testify; but if you mistreat my daughter I will take her from you, and your hands will remain empty." The ceremony ended amid general enthusiasm, and the wedding was agreed upon.

The Bedouin wedding differs widely from that of the city-dwelling Moslem. The son of the desert has no priest, and prayer is replaced with him by a sacrifice and formulas which pass down



Bedouin women preparing dinner in front of a goat-hair tent

from father to son. Although never put down in writing, they are strictly adhered to by generations uncounted.

The life of the married Bedouin woman is far from being comfortable; in fact, she does most of the hard work. The bigger tribes are divided into clans, and these, in turn, are composed of "kins." The life of the Bedouin, full of privations, is passed in a permanent struggle for food, water and pasture. His dress, which has remained unaltered since time immemorial, is a direct adaptation to his surroundings. The long shirt worn next to his body is called "tob." Over it he wears the galabeyeh, held together by a belt of cloth. The typical wide mantle of the Bedouin is the abbaayeh, known in Africa as "burnos." It resembles a sack, and is generally brown in color. The headgear is the "hattaata," or "keffieh," a large cloth held on the head by a heavy double ring of wool or camel's hair, generally black in color. The Bedouin almost invariably braids his hair into two strands, which dangle down on either side of the head, and wears a beard. He is usually barefooted, though sometimes he wears a pair of primitive, self-made sandals of camel's hide. As a rule it is only the privilege of the Sheik, the chief of the clan, to wear boots. Except for the Martini rifle, which has taken the place of the one-time bow and arrow, the Bedouin's arms, like his dress, have remained unaltered for thousands of years. The sword and the spear—often twelve feet long—are his inseparable companions.

The women generally wear only the "tob," and headgear much similar to the "hattaata." On festive occasions they put on ornaments, consisting of heavy chains of gold coins, bracelets and anklets. Their eyebrows are painted with a material known as "keehl," while hands and feet are treated with henna, a dark, reddish shade being particularly favored.

An important feature in the family life of the Bedouin is the slave, always colored, who is generally well treated. The hospitality of the Bedouin is pro-

verbial, but it is also subjected to his unwritten law. With some tribes the stay of a guest is not expected to exceed three days and a half; a longer sojourn, although not marred by any lack of hospitality, would be considered bad form, chiefly because the Bedouin is very poor and never possesses food in abundance.

He is a born poet; in fact, poetry is one of his favorite pastimes, and it is astonishing to hear these illiterate horsemen recite the most beautiful extempores.

The moral code of the Bedouin is his only guide in life. These people lead a life regulated entirely by traditional rules which are strictly enforced. Theft is an almost unheard-of thing, and the culprit is considered an outlaw not only by his tribe, but even by those with whom it might be at war. This attitude of the Bedouin community amounts virtually to a death sentence to the thief, for without support he cannot survive in the unlimited stretches of the desert. Murders are extremely rare, this being due chiefly to the time-honored institution of the blood-feud. Nothing can save the assassin from capital punishment if the murder has been committed for motives of greed or jealousy. Even if this is not the case he will not escape being killed by the next of kin of the victim, unless he pays the blood price, which is generally very high.

IN PEACE AND WAR

The principal permanent occupation of the desert dweller is the breeding of camels and horses. This accounts for his nomadic life, for he must keep moving about according to the condition and situation of the desert stretches offering the best pasture at the time. There are more different races of camels than of horses, but the two principal types are the freight and the riding camel, of which the hedjin is famous throughout Arabia. Like its frame and build, the color of the camel varies widely, the most beautiful hedjins being white. The camel, useful as it is, is very diffi-

cult to handle. Irritable and balky, it makes life hard for its keepers.

The Bedouin-bred horse, however, is not less famous than the thoroughbred camel. The beauty of its long-necked, slender body and small head is cherished by the West and East alike, and the Shammar and Anese tribes are particularly proud of their steeds, which are the objects of general admiration from the Golden Horn to the Persian Gulf. The Arab horse is famous for its intelligence, which far excels that of the Western breed.

The true Arab will always ride stallions, the mares being carefully kept for breeding purposes. The typical pace used for long-distance travel is the "rakhwan," unknown to the average Western horseman, and characterized by the fact that the horse touches the ground with three hoofs at a time. Traveling, however, is usually done on camel-back, the horses being mounted in battle.

Battles and "Rhazoos," or looting expeditions, warfare and the raiding of villages or caravans are the Bedouin's favorite occupation. On the other hand, he is always prepared for trouble, and this is illustrated by the very appear-

ance of his camp. In territories where one of the innumerable intertribal wars is in progress the half-open, oblong tents of black goat's hair are pitched in a circle to facilitate the self-defense of the inmates. It is not always the Sheik who leads in battle. Though his position is hereditary, chiefs who do not possess the courage and sagacity indispensable for generalship are replaced during a campaign by another prominent functionary elected by the clan and known as "Akeed." He is, as a rule, the ablest among the warriors.

Despite his courage in battle, however, the Bedouin loves life and fears death. This is due to his conceptions of after-life, which are unclear and differ from the general Mohammedan ideas; in fact, the average Bedouin is only nominally a Mohammedan; he retains very little of that faith over and beyond his belief in one God.

In the conception of the Bedouin the soul of the dying leaves the body through the nostrils and flies away into Paradise or hell, according to the lifetime conduct of the deceased. Both Paradise and hell are situated below the earth, and the soul leads a life there much similar to that of his brothers in



Fellah women returning home with water drawn from wells

this world, the main difference being merely that, according to his merits, it will be one of wealth or poverty. The principal advantage of Paradise over hell is that the abode of the good is plentiful in water, the most important necessity to the desert dweller.

A great part in Bedouin imagination is played by superstition. The desert is inhabited by thousands of ghosts, "jinns" and "affrits," and the tribesman lives in constant fear of them. The soul of a man asleep is temporarily away from his body, and it is therefore with particular care that a Bedouin awakes a companion for fear that his soul may fail to return to the body and be replaced by some ill-disposed spirit.

FREE SONS OF THE DESERT

The origin of the Bedouins goes back thousands of years, and they have maintained their absolute independence ever since. They crushed the legions of Crassus. They resisted successfully the onslaughts of the Sassanides, and when, under Mohammed, Abu Bakr and Omar, they played the part of the aggressor, they made a sweeping conquest of Northern Africa, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. No enemy has ever followed them into the safe refuge of the endless desert, whose scanty wells are known to them alone.

Though they were nominal subjects of the Turkish Empire up to 1918, the Bedouins enjoyed full independence under their different tribal chiefs and princes. They were not taxed or drafted by the Turkish Army, the military forces of the Sultan in their land comprising but a few petty garrisons scattered along the rim of the enormous desert area.

Though the Bedouins are the only people that can truly be called Arabs, an important part of the population of the Arabian Peninsula is made up of the fellaheen, the peasant farmers of the desert rim, who live in small, primitive clay huts, often resembling a sugar cone in shape, and known as "ubba." They go in for agricultural pursuits, goat and

sheep raising, and are often obliged to pay tribute to the neighboring Bedouins to prevent them from looting their settlements. There is a slow but unceasing drift of Bedouins to the cities of the coast, a process which generally takes two or three generations to become effective.

The general discontent caused by the Near Eastern policy of the European powers proved to be an important factor in the reconciliation of a number of Bedouin tribes formerly bitter foes. That common political resentment toward a third party is a powerful uniting force has become particularly manifest in Ibn Saud's attitude toward Turkey. This Wahabite chief, who, like Ibn Rashid, his neighbor and rival, could put more than 100,000 armed Arab horsemen into the field, long pursued a pro-British policy, while Ibn Rashid fought on the Turkish side during the World War. Because of his many causes for animosity to King Hussein, however, Ibn Saud turned away from his British supporters and, according to the latest reports, after his occupation of Mecca conferred the Mohammedan caliphate upon a Turkish candidate. Even Hussein, however, not long before his forced abdication, made overtures to the Turks, against whom he had fought during the World War, after Colonel Lawrence, one of the most romantic figures of the war on the Near Eastern front, had successfully reorganized Hussein's Arab forces. Arab resentment against the British for their failure to keep their promises, made through Colonel Sir Henry McMahon, British representative in Egypt during the war, to place Palestine and Syria under Hussein's rule, had remained since the armistice a factor to be reckoned with. What the attitude of Ibn Saud, the new military leader of the Arabs, will be is still problematical. What part the now united Bedouin tribes will play it is also impossible to foresee. The Bedouins and the Wahabis, taken together, form a formidable bloc opposed to Western domination in the Mohammedan countries of the Near East.

Armies and Navies of the World

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

THE UNITED STATES

ON Nov. 11 T. E. Robinson, cousin of former Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt, was called upon by President Coolidge to take over that office. He is the fourth of the Roosevelt family to occupy the position.

An unusual situation was brought to light in the report of Judge Advocate General Lattimer of the navy when he showed that the courts-martial on desertions had increased 350 per cent., or an increase of 1,207 cases, this fiscal year. Only two reasons have been given by navy men for this striking situation. One is that the present 86,000 men are not enough to operate the ships in commission and that every man is called upon to do much more than his ordinary duty. The second explanation is that, due to lack of fuel, various ships are tied to the docks at the navy yards for long periods and the men find more agreeable diversion ashore than aboard ship.

W. B. Shearer, acting as a taxpayer and citizen of the United States, on Nov. 11 obtained permission from Supreme Court Justice Hitz of the District of Columbia to force the Secretary of the Navy to show cause why the battleship Washington should be destroyed as was planned by the Navy Department. The Washington was slated to be destroyed under the Arms Limitation Treaty and had been prepared as a target for all kinds of projectiles and mines. On Nov. 14 the Secretary of the Navy was upheld by the court, which decided that there was no equity in Mr. Shearer's bill. After various tests between Nov. 21 and 25 the vessel was sunk by the 14-inch guns of the battleship Texas.

Work was resumed in Washington on the Butler bill authorizing an appropriation for eight modern cruisers, a few large submarines and a few small light drifting gunboats for Chinese rivers.

Representative Fred Britten of Illinois

has asked for a formal inquiry on Secretary Wilbur's report to the President which describes the great deterioration of the fleet due to lack of repairs or overhauls. Mr. Britten has also been active on the gun elevation program in Congress. Money for this work has already been appropriated, but upon the request of the State Department Congress nullified the bill two years ago. Finally a British protest was lodged with the United States on the subject of its change of elevation of the big guns on its ships. After the State Department had made a very complete study of the Navy Treaty and after many conferences between the President and Secretary Wilbur, it was finally decided that gun elevation was permissible under the Navy Treaty.

All the large oil-burning ships of the navy are to go to Australia next Summer for their manoeuvres. These manoeuvres will be divided between two territories. The Hawaiian battle plan will be completed by July 1, and then the cruise to Australia will be undertaken by twelve battleships, a division of light cruisers and two destroyer squadrons.

The German-built dirigible ZR-3 was on Nov. 25 formally named Los Angeles by Mrs. Calvin Coolidge in the presence of a notable gathering of Government officials, diplomats and army and navy officers at the Anacostia Naval Air Station. Twenty minutes after her christening the big ship took her departure for Lakehurst.

The Navy Department has contracted for the construction of several large planes capable of sustaining flight for a day or more and with a useful load capacity up to two tons. This will probably be the most important type of long-distance scouts evolved by any navy.

The actual strength of the regular army of the United States at the beginning of the current fiscal year in July was 140,943, according to figures given

in the annual report of the Adjutant General of the Army. The total number of commissioned officers was 11,655, and the enlisted strength was 121,028. This force was divided over the entire territory of the United States and was so skeletonized as to make concrete defense from invasion impossible. For this reason Secretary Weeks will again petition Congress for an increase in the enlisted strength to 150,000 men. It has been possible to train at the military training camps 275,000 men, of which 23,250 are officers and the remainder enlisted personnel.

Admission that developments during and since the World War have rendered obsolete practically all the coast defenses of the United States and its outlying possessions is contained in the annual report of Major Gen. Harry Taylor, Chief of Engineers of the Army. The great need for railway artillery of heavy calibre to be placed on several rail lines along our seacoast for defense are stressed in this report. Strengthening of the immobile fortifications at strategic points, such as New York, mouth of the Chesapeake, Panama, Puget Sound and Hawaii are matters which should be attended to in the immediate future, as both the army and navy are dependent upon the impregnability of these points.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE return of Premier Baldwin to power in Great Britain, it is definitely known, will occasion great changes in the present British program of naval construction. It is understood that already the sale of equipment to be used in the construction of the Singapore base has been stopped, and that since it is possible to arrange for the funding of this project, it will again be undertaken. It is also said in the highest quarters that five further 10,000-ton cruisers will be laid down in England as a part of the present program, bringing up the total number of new cruisers to be attached to the British fleet to ten. Submarine O-1, which was recently laid down shrouded with the

usual British mystery, can be said on good authority to be nothing like the X-1, which made such a complete failure on her trials. The O-1 will displace about 1,420 tons of the surface and will be a middle type cruising vessel for long distance work on the European coast. In many phases, however, it is experimental.

The two destroyers ordered as part of the 1924-25 program have been named Ambuscade and Amazon. The contract for the first goes to the Yarrow Company and that of the second to the Thornycroft Company. The interest brought about in England by the achievements of the Shenandoah and Los Angeles in America have resulted in the decision of the British Government to attempt to outdo America in lighter than air craft.

Sir Trevor Dawson of the Vickers Company announced, on Nov. 5, that his company had signed a contract for the construction of an airship of 5,000,000 cubic feet. This will make the new ship more than twice the size of the Los Angeles.

Orders for the scrapping of the battleship Monarch have been issued by the Admiralty. Completed in 1912, of 22,680 tons displacement, and carrying ten 13.5-inch guns, the vessel has been in reserve since the World War.

FRANCE

DISPATCHES from Paris, dated Nov. 10, announced that French shipyards were being rushed to complete a tremendous program of construction of smaller vessels not restricted by the Washington agreement. In October the submarine Souffleur, the largest type yet designed for the French Navy, was launched at Cherbourg. This is the second such vessel to be added to the navy and is to be followed by four more of the same class. Besides these submarines two torpedo boats are under construction, they being part of a group of twelve to be completed before April, 1925. A fast cruiser of 8,000 tons is also practically complete.

Millions of Orientals Under The Yoke of Opium

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

American Correspondent of the Tokio Nichi Nichi and the Osaka Mainichi

THOUGH a world-wide problem, the drug evil is acutest in the Far East, which produces by far the largest quantity of opium and which has the largest number of addicts. In all Asia Japan is the only country which has managed to escape the shackles of opium. The escape was neither miraculous nor accidental; it was made possible by the rigid discipline under which the nation had lived for centuries. Today some of the modern sons of the Spartan forefathers of Nippon have so completely come under the commercial influence of the West that they have little hesitation in selling to their less discriminating neighbors across the seas drugs which they would not sell to their fellow-countrymen.

India may well be regarded as the greatest source of the opium vice. Ever since Warren Hastings laid down in 1735 the principle that the production of opium should not be permitted except for purposes of foreign commerce, India, under British rule, has been exporting the pernicious drug to all parts of Asia, particularly China. Nor has Hastings's objection to opium production for domestic consumption been heeded, for the British Government in India has been selling and continues to sell large quantities of opium to the natives. In 1922 India manufactured something like 1,450 tons of opium. This is the largest quantity produced by any single country, if we leave out of consideration China, where statistics in such matters are only guesswork. Next comes Turkey, which in 1922 produced 240 tons. Persia in the same year produced 162 tons. Outside China, these three countries are the leading—perhaps the only—opium-producing countries in the world.

The British Administration in India conducts the cultivation of the poppy, as well as the manufacture and sale of opium, as a Government monopoly. It issues a license to whoever wishes to cultivate the poppy. It advances the necessary funds to enable the planter to tide over the period between the sowing and harvesting. The crop, when ripe, is collected by a Government agent and taken to the Government factory at Ghazipur. According to "Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India," the opium manufactured by the monopoly Administration is disposed of in these four ways: (1) By public auction at Calcutta for export outside India; (2) by direct sales to foreign and colonial Governments with which agreements have been entered into for supply at fixed rates; (3) by supply to the Medical Department in India for medical purposes, and (4) by issue to the Excise Department in India for local consumption under revenue regulations. In other words, Indian opium produced by the British monopoly Administration is either exported to other opium-consuming countries or turned over to the Excise Department, which retails the drug to the natives through some 6,400 shops licensed by the Government. In the six years from 1917 to 1922, inclusive, India produced about 3,546 tons of opium for export and about 2,860 tons for domestic consumption. In addition, the Government bought in the same period about 1,926 tons, all for domestic consumption, from the native Indian States, the Malwa States and other sources. All told, something like 4,780 tons of opium were sold to the natives of India in those six years. "The Truth About Indian Opium," issued by the India Office of the

British Government, describes as follows the method of distributing excise opium among the addicts:

Government or excise opium is issued only to licensed wholesale or retail vendors. The wholesale vendor may sell such opium, or opium obtained from a licensed cultivator, only to other licensed vendors or licensed druggists; the retail vendor and the licensed druggists may sell to individuals. * * * He may not sell to any one person at one time more than the quantity of opium which an individual may lawfully possess. * * * The amount of opium of which an individual may be in possession varies according to circumstances in different provinces, but in most places is either 360 or 540 grains.

MORE ADDICTS IN INDIA

Under this license system native consumption of opium, as well as the number of addicts, has increased rather than decreased, and this in spite of the fact that the Government has steadily raised the price of opium. An addict is willing to pay any price to satisfy his irresistible craving. A native scholar, Badrul Hassan, describes the situation in these words:

The policy of taxation seems to be that those drugs to which people are strongly addicted are taxed as high as possible without fear of diminishing the sale; and those drugs which are not in demand are taxed rather lightly. The policy is based on strict business principles. Where the sales are certain the maximum tax is levied, but where the sales are small * * * or new articles are introduced, they are taxed as lightly as possible to increase the demand and capture the market.

Nevertheless, the opium revenue of the Government of India amounts to only 3 per cent. of the total revenue. In 1921 the revenue of the Indian Government amounted to about \$1,030,000,000, of which something like \$30,000,000 was from opium. Small as the opium revenue seems to be, it is still considered very important, because the British authorities have had no little difficulty in balancing the budget. In 1922 the British Government sent to India a special committee to investigate its finances. One of the recommendations made by the committee was that the opium indus-

try, as an "important source of revenue," must be "safeguarded." In justice to Great Britain be it said that many Britishers are opposed to this system of conducting the opium industry for revenue. Perhaps the British Government itself would rather abolish it. But the system has been in operation so long that it has created classes and institutions which would object most strongly to immediate abolition of the traffic. Even Miss Ellen N. La Motte, an authority on this question, who has been very critical toward the opium administration in India, admits that the British Government, in dealing with the traffic, is on the horns of a dilemma. She says:

To the protests from the thousands of licensed druggists and vendors, wholesale and retail, and the legions who make money through sales, would be added the outcry of the addicts themselves, who must number many millions. To a country thoroughly addicted to opium and hemp, and now rapidly learning about cocaine, curtailment of this sort of "liberty" would produce a great upheaval and be construed as another example of malevolent alien rule. On the other hand, the followers of Gandhi and all those who are honestly opposed to drugging find an explanation of the opium traffic in a deliberate design to destroy the people, to provide them with pills and pipes to take their minds off politics. There is discontent either way and lots of it.

Not only does Great Britain conduct opium production in India, but she has no small interest in the same industry in Persia. A British loan to Persia amounting to some \$2,450,000 is secured on opium receipts. Moreover, Great Britain buys 60 to 82 per cent. of Persia's annual output of opium. The opium administration of India also supplies with opium other British colonies in the East—the Straits Settlements, the Federated and other Malay States, British North Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei, Mauritius, Hongkong and Iraq. In all these colonies it has been the British policy to derive an important portion of the revenue from the sales of Indian opium. In the Straits Settlements opium receipts were as high as 60 per cent. of the total revenue in 1918, and

38 per cent. in 1921. In the Federated Malay States about one-fifth of the total revenue comes from opium. In British North Borneo, administered by the North Borneo Chartered Company, almost half the revenue is from excise on opium, gambling and pawnbroking. A condition more or less similar prevails in other British colonies in the East.

Next to Great Britain, Holland has the largest opium-ridden colonies in the East. The Netherlands East Indies, chief of which are Java, Sumatra, and the Western part of Borneo, aggregate an area of 733,000 square miles, and have a population of some 49,000,000. The Dutch Administration in these islands buys opium from India, and sells it to the natives under a license system. Thus the Government derives something like 11 per cent. of its revenue from the opium traffic.

IN THE FRENCH COLONIES

The French colony in the East, French Indo-China, with an area of 256,878 square miles and a population of some 2,000,000, has more than 120,000 addicts, or about four to each 1,000 of the population. A license system, more or less similar to the British system in India, prevails in this colony.

Siam, maintaining shadowy independence, has long since placed herself under the yoke of opium. In 1855 Britain forced Siam to sign a treaty forbidding the latter to impose any duty upon Indian opium.

The most tragic example of national degeneration caused by Indian opium is China. As early as 1721 the Manchu Emperor prohibited the sale and use of opium. For many decades edict followed edict, all enjoining the people to desist from importing opium. Nevertheless, Indian opium flowed into the country in an ever-increasing stream. Alarmed by this condition, a Chinese patriot, Lin Tze-su, staged in 1849 a coup akin to the Boston Tea Party, destroying 20,000 chests of opium stored in British ships off Canton. That furnished Britain with a *casus*

belli against China. The result was the famous Opium War. China was thus led willy-nilly on the road to degradation until by 1906, the year in which the Manchu Government decided upon a policy of absolute prohibition, more than 15,000,000 Chinese had been enslaved by opium. In order to carry out this policy, China in 1908 secured a treaty whereby Great Britain agreed to decrease the exportation of India opium into China by degrees to the end that in ten years, that is, by April, 1917, opium would cease to enter China. Meanwhile America had come forward with a sincere desire to lift China from the mire of the opium evil, and was instrumental in calling the first international opium conference at Shanghai in 1908.

The British agreement and the Shanghai conference came at the eleventh hour. For 200 years the octopus of opium had spread its tentacles over China, and now holds 15,000,000 Chinese in its grip. The period of ten years agreed upon between Britain and China for the stoppage of the importation of Indian opium expired eight years ago, but the Chinese are today just as much slaves of the demoralizing drug as they have ever been. Because of internal disorganization the opium situation in China is becoming worse. The provincial authorities, especially the Military Governors, have been encouraging the cultivation of the poppy, for them the most fertile source of revenue. The 1923 report of the International Anti-Opium Association at Peking contains most disheartening facts and statements. China in that year produced, it says, "not less than 7,000 tons of opium; in other words, double the annual production of the remainder of the world." These figures are perhaps greatly exaggerated, but the fact is plain that China bids fair to eclipse even India in the production of opium. To quote the report:

One of the disturbing signs of the present time is the growing acquiescence in the present state of affairs by people of all classes. Officials, military authorities, mer-

chants, leisure classes and coolies are becoming less secretive in their narcotic indulgence. As opium becomes easier to obtain and cheaper to buy, the social restraints are disappearing. In some large treaty ports opium-smoking is so general that the magistrates have ceased to consider it a breach of the law. Wealthy Chinese make little attempt to disguise the fact of smoking, and in their homes opium pipes and lamps lie about quite carelessly.

JAPAN UNSHACKLED BY OPIUM

Japan, as we have seen, is the only Asiatic nation that has successfully forestalled the inroads of the opium vice. The only section of Japanese territory which permits opium smoking under certain restrictions is Formosa, an island with some 3,700,000 inhabitants. When Japan acquired it in 1895, after the war with China, she found there a population already so badly drugged that immediate application of the prohibition law, which had been in force among her own people, seemed impossible. Consequently the Government adopted the system of licensing the addicts, taking pains, at the same time, not to issue certificates to those who had not been afflicted with the drug habit. In 1902 licensed smokers in Formosa numbered 165,000, or 6.3 per cent. of the total population. By 1921 the number decreased to 45,832, or a little over 1 per cent. of the entire population. Government monopoly of opium, coupled with a license system, though theoretically right, often covers a multitude of sins. In most of the Asiatic colonies where this system is in operation the number of addicts has shown a tendency to increase. In Formosa the comparatively honest enforcement of the law has resulted in a substantial decrease of addicts, but the decrease has not come up to the expectation of moral leaders. At the opium conference at Geneva Japan has expressed herself in favor of stamping out opium smoking in Formosa in ten years, and of stopping the manufacture of heroin.

Of late Japanese traffickers have been accused of smuggling morphine and cocaine into China. It is a fact that they

have been importing these narcotics in large quantities from England and, for a time, from the United States. In the years from 1913 to 1918, when Japanese drug dealers were very active, some 500,000 ounces of morphine were exported from England to Japan. In about 1918 and 1919 America, too, shipped morphine to Japan in excessive quantities. A report of the International Anti-Opium Association at Peking had this to say:

The Federal authorities of the United States declare that from July 21 to Oct. 29, 1920, more than 4,000 pounds of morphine, enough for more than 250,000,000 injections, have been shipped from Seattle and Tacoma, and that a similar amount has been shipped during the same period from San Francisco to Japan, the largest shipment in history. * * * The morphine and other narcotics are all stated to be shipped to Japanese firms, most of them going through the port of Kobe, and a large portion to the island of Formosa. It is also claimed that these narcotics are being smuggled from Japan through the Japanese trade offices located in China and by Japanese peddlers.

Fortunately the United States Congress has, within the last two or three years, passed restrictive laws which have greatly lessened American output of narcotic drugs. Naturally, American exports of morphine to Japan have greatly diminished. Japan has also adopted a system under which the importation of narcotics is limited.

If the British authorities in India and the Turkish and Persian Governments would restrict production of opium and other narcotics, the drug question in other parts of the world, which obtain opium from those three countries, would solve itself. This would also solve the morphine and heroin evil, for these narcotics are derived from opium. As for cocaine, its raw material is produced almost exclusively in Peru, Bolivia and the Dutch possession of Java. If these countries would place a restriction upon the production of coca leaves, it would not be difficult to limit the manufacture of cocaine to legitimate needs.

The Opium Conflict at Geneva

AMERICAN hopes ran high that an international agreement to curb the opium traffic would result from the conferences that began at Geneva on Nov. 3, 1924.

The first conference, constituted wholly by representatives of opium-producing nations, proved memorable chiefly for a conflict between the Japanese and the British delegations over the question whether countries exporting opium should recognize import certificates issued by other countries and furnish opium when the documents declared that the opium was designed for legitimate purposes. The Japanese delegation declared that Japan was being unfairly treated by the other powers, especially Great Britain, in connection with the shipment of opium, and that when the Japanese Government issued import certificates they were not always recognized by the other Governments. The British reply was to the effect that, despite regularly issued import papers, opium and other narcotic drugs were often diverted on the way to the country of purchase, and forwarded to other destinations where they were used for illicit purposes and illicit gain, thus bringing a stain on the fair name of Great Britain, which had permitted the export.

Without a settlement of this or other important questions, the first conference adjourned on Nov. 16, to meet again at the end of the general opium conference scheduled to begin Nov. 17. In his first address to this conference, Stephen G. Porter, member of the House of Representatives of the United States and head of the American delegation, called attention to the need of a liberal interpretation of the powers of the way to the country of purchase and squarely face its problem of suppressing the "traffic in prepared opium." Other delegates insisted that care should be taken not to interfere with the "legitimate opium traffic," but petitions presented by various anti-opium

societies, including the International Medical Association of China and the League of Nations Union, sought to make clear the fact that "legitimate commerce in opium" was a term of narrow extension, and should embrace only the trade required to supply the imperative needs of science and medicine. The American delegation early announced that their position would be the same as that taken by Americans at previous conferences, namely, to restrict the manufacture and domestic distribution of narcotics strictly to scientific and medical needs, to work for the suppression of the international traffic, and to stop the production of the raw product for purposes other than those mentioned. The proposals embodying this program [the text of which is appended to this article] were presented by the American delegation to the conference on Nov. 19. Not only did these proposals provide for the most drastic restriction at the point of production in regard to opium, but also restricted production of the coca leaf, from which cocaine is extracted, and absolute prohibition of the distribution of heroin, an opium derivative, which was said to be unnecessary for medical or scientific purposes.

BISHOP BRENT'S EXPLANATION

Bishop Brent, explaining the American plan to the conference, declared that the "suggestions" were an attempt to translate the ideals of the United States into terms of national and international practice. He insisted that the public demanded forceful action, because The Hague Convention, which had been in existence twelve years, had borne relatively little fruit. Grimly facing the fact that money was the crux of the problem, he pleaded for higher standards, calling upon his fellow-delegates, of whatever race or nation, to live in the freedom of bold experiment rather than abide in the doubtful security of self-interest. The call was to

a great ideal, he concluded, that of the emancipation of "countless slaves now in bondage to the ruthless master, the narcotic evil." Despite the fact that the American proposals commanded the respect of all the delegates, they failed to obtain approval. Alfred Sze, the Chinese delegate, however, declaring that the plan was the first ray of sunlight he had seen at Geneva since the opening of the first conference, on Nov. 3, pledged the new Government in Peking to the struggle to free China from the curse of opium. The flood of Chinese opinion, he said, was rising rapidly and would sustain the Government in such a course.

For days there seemed little hope of a reconciliation between the Japanese and the British positions with reference to licenses; but at last, on Nov. 24, an agreement was reached between Great Britain and Japan which was a victory for Japan, for the British delegates reluctantly consented to recognize the validity of all certificates visaed by the Japanese Consul. Meanwhile the first conference had resumed its sittings, and on Dec. 5 concluded its work, except for signing its agreement and protocol. Two days later, Bishop Brent, having carefully studied the results thus far obtained in both conferences, announced himself disheartened and disgusted. The two Geneva gatherings he felt to have been practically fruitless from the American point of view, which saw no legitimate excuse for permitting such a traffic in destruction as that which the conferences were called to deal with. State revenues and private profits were the chief obstacles in the way of effective action, as he saw the situation, and he turned his back upon Geneva with the declaration: "This is the last time that I shall take a share in any international gathering on this great problem." Switzerland, on Dec. 9, barred the way to the American proposal for a central board for checking the consumption of narcotics in various nations. The success of Switzerland, declared a Geneva dispatch of that date, "has shattered all optimism as to

the adoption of the American plan as a whole."

The Japanese delegate, despairing of agreement among nations so widely divergent in views upon the questions at issue, on Dec. 10 abandoned the subcommittee to which had been assigned the task of finding a way out of the complications in which the convention had found itself. To a press correspondent, in explanation of his conduct, he said: "During these eight months' discussion, I presented eight different compromise plans without success. I can do no more." At Mr. Sugimura's suggestion a delegate from Uruguay was given his place upon the subcommittee, which continued to seek a road to unity, but with apparently scant hope of success. An Associated Press dispatch from Rome, dated Dec. 11, stated that at a secret session of the Council of the League of Nations that night action was taken in the nature of intervention in the International Opium Conference and in the direction of supporting the American viewpoint. Herluf Zahle, President of the Opium Conference, telegraphed to the League Council officially that difficulties had arisen over the alleged failure of the first conference, which was devoted entirely to the Far Eastern opium questions, to report satisfactory results. He asked the Council for guidance because it was the Council which ordered the convocation of the opium conferences. He stated that certain delegations wanted matters that were considered by the first conference to be treated at the second one. This particularly referred to the question of providing an effective system for the suppression of opium smoking in the Far East on which the first conference made a report unsatisfactory to the American and other delegations. The Council of the League decided to telegraph President Zahle, suggesting that he summon a joint session of both conferences as a possible way out of the difficulty.

Discussion began at a plenary session of the Opium Conference on Dec. 12 of the second section of the Amer-

ican proposals, those dealing with prepared opium. A long and vigorous debate took place on the plan to suppress opium by a reduction in importation of 10 per cent. annually. This was considered by the American delegates as the vital point of the entire conference. It was urged that if this plan were accepted, it would permit the second conference to stop up numerous loopholes left by the opium producing nations in the convention drawn up by the first conference, and if rejected would vitiate the American program and put off to the indefinite future the suppression of opium. In the debate Holland, Great Britain, India, France and Portugal bitterly opposed the introduction of the American measure into the conference's agenda, while Uruguay, Brazil and China supported the American delegation. Japan, while attacking the work of the first conference, declared that she would not participate in the second committee if the plan should be accepted for the agenda. The Americans, who had always been opposed to the idea of two conferences, stressed their belief in presenting their proposition that the second conference was empowered to deal with the question both under The Hague Convention and the resolution of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations. The point at issue was the only one in the American plan which had not been admitted to the agenda. The Dutch delegate, van Wetsum, said that the question of prepared opium already had been dealt with in the first conference and America's proposition was intolerable, as it would make null and void all the results of the first conference. Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the British delegate, supported the objection of Holland, declaring that Great Britain would be unable to take part in the discussion if the additions were made to the agenda. He did not see that the first convention deserved the attack circulated by Bishop Brent of America. One of the principal difficulties of the first conference, he said, was that it was covered with a cloud

of prejudice and attacks of which the British Government had been the centre. The British Government, he declared, would agree to a small impartial committee composed of the delegates of nations not directly interested being named by the Council of the League to investigate conditions in the Far Eastern countries and the colonies where opium still was used, this committee to report back to the Council. The Philippines, Sir Malcolm maintained, should be included in the investigation. The cudgels were taken up for the American proposal by M. Buero of Uruguay, who said that representatives of eight signatories of The Hague Convention were present and were competent to discuss anything pertaining to the suppression of opium.

THE AMERICAN STANDPOINT

Representative Porter in his address recalled that he had reserved the right to move an addition to the agenda when he had stated that the first conference's failure to reach an agreement had made obvious the wisdom of widening the scope of the second to include a discussion of the progressive suppression of the opium traffic. The Hague Conference, he said, placed the responsibility in this matter on all the contracting powers without distinction and that convention solemnly obligated the powers to take measures for a gradual but effective suppression of the manufacture, internal trade in and use of prepared opium. The United States and all nations except those with colonies in the Orient represented at the first conference had taken measures to stamp out the drug. The right of any nation signatory to The Hague Convention, which had fulfilled its obligation, was not only to ascertain whether the other signatory powers had fulfilled their obligations, but also to insist, if the occasion arose, that such power takes the steps necessary to that end. A nation also had the right to insist that the signatory powers take no measures by supplementary agreement to weaken The Hague Convention in

such a manner as to release themselves from the fulfillment of the obligations they had undertaken. The United States and other countries were seriously suffering ill effects from the leakage in the distribution of enormous quantities of raw prepared opium from the Orient, Mr. Porter declared, and the only remedy was to demand that The Hague signatories comply with the agreement for suppression. He called attention to the resolution of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations wherein the Governments were invited to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement as to measures giving an effective application to Far Eastern territories to Part II. of the convention, and the reduction in the amount of raw opium to be imported for the smoking territories where it was temporarily continued. "We have," he added, "a group of the most influential nations accepting the agreement and professing to provide for the adoption of measures for the suppression of the traffic in prepared opium, many of which are known to be less effective than the measures in operation in several of the countries represented in the first conference."

When the debate was resumed next day (Dec. 13) the tide of opposition against the American opium plan turned. The American delegation found

supporters in Chile, Poland, Venezuela, Bolivia, Cuba, Egypt, Italy and the Dominican Republic against India and Spain. Then the discussion was adjourned to permit certain delegates to consult their Governments. The same day, at 6 P. M., the time came to sign the convention drawn up at the first conference, but here, too, a delay took place. Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the British delegate, stated that he had received instructions not to sign the convention until he had consulted Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, who was returning from the meeting of the League of Nations Council at Rome, at which consideration had been given to the convention drawn up at the first conference as well as to the American plan. M. Bourgeois, representing France, also found himself unable to sign because he was not a plenipotentiary and had not yet been instructed to sign. The Japanese had received orders a few moments before the conference to sign because already committed. The Chinese, who were the only nation sure not to sign the convention, were unable to resist the opportunity the occasion offered, and the first delegate, Mr. Sze, paraphrasing Bret Harte, arose and said: "I wish to remark that for ways which are dark and tricks that are vain, the first conference is peculiar."

R. McE.

Text of American Proposals at the International Opium Conference

The following is the text of the American proposals presented to the International Opium Conference at its session Nov. 19:

By "coca leaves" is understood: The leaves of Erythroxylon Coca and its varieties from which cocaine may be extracted.

ARTICLE 1—The Contracting Parties shall enact effective laws or regulations for the control of the production and distribution of raw opium and coca leaves so that there will be no surplus available for purposes not strictly medical or scientific.

The foregoing provision shall not operate to prevent the production for exportation, or

exportation, of raw opium for the purpose of making prepared opium into those territories where the use of prepared opium is still temporarily permitted under Chapter II of this Convention, so long as such exportation is in conformity with the provisions of this Convention.

ARTICLE 2—Due regard being had to the differences in their commercial conditions, the Contracting Parties shall limit the number of towns, ports, or other localities through which the export or import of raw opium and coca leaves shall be permitted.

ARTICLE 2-A—The Contracting Parties shall require that a separate import license must be obtained for each importation of raw opium or coca leaves. The license may allow the importation of the amount for which the license is given in one or more con-

signments within a period to be specified in the license.

ARTICLE 3—The Contracting Parties shall require that a separate export license must be obtained for each exportation of raw opium or coca leaves. The Contracting Party before issuing such license shall require an import certificate issued by the authorities having jurisdiction over the territory into which the importation is made and certifying that the importation is approved, to be presented by the person applying for the license.

The license may allow the exportation of the amounts for which the license is given in one or more consignments within a period to be specified in the license.

Unless a copy of the export license accompanies the consignment, the authorities issuing the export license shall send a copy to the authorities having jurisdiction over the territory into which the importation is made.

The authorities having jurisdiction over the territory into which the importation is made, when the importation has been effected, shall return the export license with an endorsement to that effect to the Contracting Party issuing such export license.

In the case of an application to export a consignment to any place for the purpose of being placed in a bonded warehouse in that place, the production of a special certificate from the authorities having jurisdiction over that place, certifying that they have approved the introduction of the consignment for the said purpose, may be accepted by the Contracting Party permitting the export, in place of the import certificate provided for above.

ARTICLE 4—The Contracting Parties shall make regulations requiring that every package containing raw opium or coca leaves intended for export shall be marked in such a way as to indicate its contents.

PREPARED OPIUM

Definition. By "prepared opium" is understood:

The product of raw opium, obtained, by a series of special operations, especially by dissolving, boiling, roasting and fermentation, designed to transform it into an extract suitable for consumption.

Prepared opium includes dross and all other residues remaining when opium has been smoked.

ARTICLE 6—The Contracting Parties shall take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and the use of prepared opium.

ARTICLE 7—The Contracting Parties shall prohibit the import and export of prepared opium.

ARTICLE 8—Each Contracting Party in whose territory the use of prepared opium is now temporarily permitted agrees to reduce its imports of raw opium for the purpose of making prepared opium by 10 per cent. of its present importation each year for a period of 10 years beginning with the date of ratification of this Convention by it, and further agrees not to supplement the reduction by domestically produced opium; and further agrees that at the end of such period of 10 years it will prohibit the importation of raw opium for the purpose of making prepared opium. By "present importation" is understood the importation during the twelve months immediately preceding the date the Contracting Party ratifies this Convention.

MEDICINAL OPIUM, MORPHINE, COCAINE, &C.

Definitions.—By "medicinal opium" is understood:

Raw opium which has been heated to 60° Centigrade and contains not less than 10 per cent. of morphine, whether or not it be powdered or granulated or mixed with indifferent materials.

By "morphine" is understood:

The principal alkaloid of opium having the chemical formula $C_{17}H_{19}NO_3$.

By "cocaïne" is understood:

The methylbenzoyl derivatives of ecgonine ($C_9H_{15}O_3N$) of the chemical formula $C_{17}H_{21}O_4N$, whether occurring naturally or prepared synthetically; and all other derivatives of ecgonine, whether occurring naturally or prepared synthetically, which possess the property of creating addiction by their use.

By "heroin" is understood:

Diacetyl-morphine, having the formula $C_{21}H_{23}NO_5$.

ARTICLE 9—The Contracting Parties shall enact effective laws or regulations to limit exclusively to medical and scientific purposes the manufacture, sale, and use of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts and derivatives. They shall cooperate with one another to prevent the use of these drugs for any other purpose.

ARTICLE 9-A—The Contracting Parties shall enact effective laws or regulations prohibiting the manufacture and distribution of heroin.

ARTICLE 10—The Contracting Parties shall control all persons manufacturing, importing, selling, distributing, or exporting morphine, cocaine, or their respective salts or derivatives, as well as the buildings in which these persons carry on such industry or trade.

With this object, the Contracting Parties shall:

(a) Confine the manufacture of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts and derivatives to those establishments and premises alone which have been licensed for the purpose, or obtain information respecting the establishments and premises in which these drugs are manufactured and keep a register of them;

(b) Require that all persons engaged in the manufacture, import, sale, distribution, or export of morphine, cocaine, or their respective salts or derivatives shall obtain a license or permit to engage in these operations.

(c) Require that such persons shall enter in their books the quantities manufactured, imports, sales, and all other distribution, and exports of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts and derivatives.

ARTICLE 11—The Contracting Parties shall take measures to prohibit, as regards their internal trade, the delivery of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts and derivatives to any unauthorized persons.

ARTICLE 12—The Contracting Parties shall require that a separate import license must be obtained for each importation of morphine, cocaine, or their respective salts or derivatives. The license may allow the importation of the amount for which the license is given in one or more consignments within a period to be specified in the license.

ARTICLE 13—The Contracting Parties shall require that a separate export license must be obtained for each exportation of morphine, cocaine, or their respective salts or derivatives. The Contracting Party before issuing such license shall require an import certificate issued by the authorities having jurisdiction over the territory into which the importation is made and certifying that the importation is approved, to be presented by the person applying for the license.

The license may allow the exportation of the amounts for which the license is given in one or more consignments within a period to be specified in the license.

Unless a copy of the export license accompanies the consignment, the authorities issuing the export license shall send a copy to the authorities having jurisdiction over the territory into which the importation is made.

The authorities having jurisdiction over the territory into which the importation is made, when the importation has been effected, shall return the export license with an endorsement to that effect to the Contracting Party issuing such export license.

In the case of an application to export a consignment to any place for the purpose of being placed in a bonded warehouse in that place, the production of a special certificate from the authorities having jurisdiction over that place, certifying that they have approved the introduction of the consignment for the said purpose, may be accepted by the Contracting Party permitting the export in place of the import certificate provided for above.

ARTICLE 14—The Contracting Parties shall apply the laws and regulations, respecting the manufacture, import, sale, distribution, delivery, or export of morphine, cocaine, and their respective salts and their derivatives;

(a) To medicinal opium;

(b) To all preparations (official and non-official, including the so-called anti-opium remedies) containing morphine, cocaine, or their salts or derivatives;

(d) To all new derivatives of morphine, or cocaine, or of their respective salts, and to every other alkaloid of opium or coca leaves, and to any habit-forming drug which may be shown by scientific research, generally recognized, to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill effects.

ARTICLE 20—The Contracting Parties shall enact laws or regulations making it a penal offense to be in illegal possession of any of the substances to which this Convention applies.

ARTICLE 20-A—The Contracting Parties shall furnish annually to the Central Board hereinafter constituted, not later than April 1, for the calendar year beginning Jan. 1 following, in respect of raw opium; coca leaves; morphine, its salts, derivatives, and preparations containing morphine; and cocaine, its salts, derivatives, and preparations containing cocaine, estimates of:

(1) Their import requirements for medical and scientific purposes, whether for domestic consumption, manufacture, or commerce;

(2) Their total production and requirements:

(a) For all purposes,

(1) For domestic consumption for all purposes;

(2) For domestic consumption for medical and scientific purposes,

(3) For export for all purposes,

(4) For export for medical and scientific purposes.

ARTICLE 20-B—The Contracting Parties undertake to prohibit the importation into their territory of any of the substances mentioned in Article 20-A in excess of the quantities specified in the estimates furnished in

pursuance of Article 20-A (1) or fixed by the Central Board in pursuance of Article 20-E. The foregoing provision shall not operate to prevent the importation of raw opium for the purpose of making prepared opium into those territories where the use of prepared opium is still temporarily permitted under Chapter II. of this Convention, so long as such importation is in conformity with the provisions of this Convention.

ARTICLE 20-C—A permanent Central Board shall be constituted consisting of one representative each from,,,, and

The Board shall fix its headquarters, shall determine its procedure, and shall meet at least once annually beginning the first Monday in May. The decision of all questions coming before the board shall be by a majority vote of those present, but two-thirds of the Board shall be necessary to constitute a quorum.

The board may appoint an Executive Committee of not more than five persons, who shall perform such of the board's duties as it may delegate to the committee. The members of the Executive Committee need not be members of the board.

The expenses of the members of the board shall be defrayed by the parties they represent. The expenses of the Executive Committee and its clerical staff shall be divided among the Contracting Parties in proportion to their total imports and exports of raw opium and coca leaves.

ARTICLE 20-D—The Contracting Parties, in addition to the estimates called for in Article 20-A, agree to send to the Central Board:

(1) In respect of each of the substances mentioned in Article 20-A:

(a) Within three months after the end of each quarter statistics of their imports, specifying their source, and of their exports and re-exports, specifying their destination, during that quarter;

(b) If possible, within three months after the end of each half year the wholesale stocks, whether in Government or in private hands, at the end of that half year;

(2) In respect of morphine and cocaine and their salts and derivatives, within three months after the end of each half year, the statistics of their manufacture during that half year;

(3) In respect of raw opium and coca leaves, within three months after the end of each year, the total quantity produced and consumed during that year.

The Central Board shall communicate periodically to all the parties to this Convention the situation as regards the quantity and destination of all exports and re-exports of the substances mentioned in Article 20-A, calling to their particular attention the fact that, in the case of any territory, the imports have already reached the amounts to which such territory is entitled under this Convention.

ARTICLE 20-E—If any Contracting Party furnishes no estimate of its import requirements in pursuance of Article 20-A or furnishes an estimate which appears to the Central Board upon investigation undertaken on its own motion or on complaint of any of the Contracting Parties, to be greatly in excess of its reasonable requirements, the board shall immediately ascertain the amount of the reasonable requirements of that Contracting Party for the calendar year beginning Jan. 1 following, after taking into account its population, climatic and hygienic conditions and all other factors which appear to the board to be relevant as well as any other special circumstances which such Contracting Party may be at liberty to submit to the board.

The board shall notify to all Contracting Parties its conclusion as to the amount so ascertained by it. The board shall recommend that each Contracting Party other than that Contracting Party the extent of whose import requirements has been ascertained by the board, shall prohibit the exportation from their respective territories to the territory of that Contracting Party, amounts of substances specified in Article 20-A which, taken in conjunction with other exports thereto, will exceed the amount ascertained as aforesaid by the board to be the reasonable annual import requirements of such party. Due consideration shall be given to the recommendation of the board.

ARTICLE 20-F—Each Contracting Party shall make it a penal offense for any person within its jurisdiction to procure or assist the commission, in any place outside its jurisdiction, in any offense against the laws in force in such place for controlling or regulating the manufacture, sale, delivery, distribution, use, possession, export, or import of any of the substances covered by this convention.

ARTICLE 20-G—Each Contracting Party shall forbid the conveyance in any vessel sailing under its flag of any consignment of the substances covered by this convention.

(1) Unless an export license has been issued in respect of such consignment in accordance with the provisions of this convention and the consignment is accompanied by an official copy of such license;

(2) To any destination other than the destination mentioned in the license.

ARTICLE 20-H—For the purpose of insuring the full application and enforcement of the provisions of this convention in Free Ports and Free Zones, the Contracting Parties undertake to apply in Free Ports and Free Zones situated within their territories the same laws and regulations, and to exercise the same supervision and control in respect of the substances covered by this convention as in other parts of their territories.

ARTICLE 20-I—The Contracting Parties shall enact effective laws and regulations to prohibit the transportation through their territory from a place outside thereof, of any of the substances covered by this convention unless such Contracting Party is advised of the contents and the destination of the consignment.

ARTICLE 20-J—The Contracting Parties

shall enact effective laws and regulations to prohibit the transshipment within their territories of a consignment of any of the substances covered by this convention unless such consignment is accompanied by an official copy of the export license issued by the authorities having jurisdiction over the territory from which exported or by an official copy of the import certificate issued by the authorities having jurisdiction over the territory to which destined. The Contracting Parties shall also enact effective laws and regulations to prohibit in the territory of transshipment the diversion of, or attempt to divert, a consignment of any of the substances covered by this convention to any destination other than that named in the official copy of the export license or import certificate, unless an export license is first obtained from the authorities of the territory where the transshipment occurs.

ARTICLE 20-K—The Contracting Parties shall enact effective laws and regulations to prohibit a consignment of any of the substances covered by this convention which is landed in their territory and placed in a bonded warehouse from being withdrawn from such warehouse for export, unless an import certificate issued by the authorities having jurisdiction over the territory to which the consignment is destined, certifying that the importation is approved, is presented to the authorities having jurisdiction over the bonded warehouse.

A special certificate shall be issued by the Contracting Parties in respect of each consignment so withdrawn and shall take the place of the export license for the purpose of the preceding provisions of this convention.

ARTICLE 20-L—In the case of a geographical area the Government of which is not a party to this convention the Contracting Parties undertake to allow the export to such geographical area of any of the substances covered by this convention only in such amounts as may be fixed by the Central Board as being reasonably required for the medical and scientific needs of such area. The Central Board shall communicate periodically to all the parties to this convention the amount fixed in respect of each geographical area, and the situation as regards the exports and re-exports thereto.

ARTICLE 20-M—This convention shall come into force between the Contracting Parties who have ratified it as soon as it has been ratified by four of the Contracting Parties.



Britain's Reassertion of Authority in Egypt

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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A CRISIS that made itself felt immediately throughout the world was precipitated by the assassination at Cairo on Nov. 19, 1924, of Sir Lee Stack, a Major General in the British Army, who was Governor General of the Sudan and Sirdar (Commander in Chief) of the Egyptian Army. The unusual seriousness of this event arose from the important position which the Suez Canal and Egypt occupy in the British Empire and the Mohammedan world.

The famous canal was built by a French company, largely at the expense of Egypt, between 1854 and 1869. The British obtained a controlling interest in 1875, and it became an essential portion of the main artery of the British Empire. To insulate it against adverse attack Great Britain acquired control over neighboring territory, including Cyprus in 1878, Egypt in 1882, the Sudan in 1899, and Palestine in 1919. Although Great Britain has an alternative route around the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, the communication through the Mediterranean Sea, the Suez Canal and the Red Sea is deemed absolutely vital for rule and trade.

Egypt became virtually independent of the Turks when in 1805 they appointed a shrewd, illiterate man of Albanian descent, named Mohammed Ali, as Pasha or Governor of Egypt, and Ali refused to give up his office to a successor. He broke down all opposition in Egypt itself by destroying the Mameluke organization which had survived through the period of Turkish rule. With a very practical combination of the methods of Eastern despotism

and of Western military and economic organization, he built up a strong power. Only the intervention of European Governments prevented him from capturing Constantinople, and perhaps from placing himself upon the throne of a strengthened Ottoman Empire. Repressed and reduced in his old age, he nevertheless secured the hereditary autonomy of Egypt. In Mohammed Ali's time the French influence was strong and increasing. After the Crimean War, Egypt, like Turkey, discovered that money could be borrowed in Western Europe.



P. & A. Photo

SIR LEE STACK

The British General commanding the Egyptian army who was assassinated in Cairo

Ali's grandson, Ismail, after beginning moderately, proceeded to extravagance and waste, in which he exhausted the credit of Egypt and increased taxation to the limit. He sunk millions in building the Suez Canal, wars in the Sudan and Abyssinia, and the purchase from the Sultan of the title of Khedive or Viceroy and the right to transmit his title to his oldest son. Matters came to a crisis in 1876. French and British bondholders induced their Governments to intervene. A Dual Financial Control was established which in various forms lasted eight years. During this period Ismail was deposed and succeeded by his son, Tewfik. Under the leadership of a native Egyptian, Colonel Arabi, a revolt took place in the Egyptian Army as a protest against the Turkish and Circassian officers, who were favored at the expense of the native Egyptians. There was, however, distinctly present in the movement the beginning of nationalistic feeling. European anger arose. The French and British Governments moved toward intervention. For reasons about which there is still controversy the people of Alexandria arose and killed some Europeans. The French declined to act, but the British naval



Map of Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The boundary between them is shown by a heavy line

vessels in the harbor bombarded the city on July 11, 1882, and some weeks later British troops were landed at Ismailia on the Suez Canal. Arabi Pasha was defeated and Cairo occupied. Thus began the famous "temporary occupation" of Egypt by the British, which was to last forty years. During more than half of this time the French were hostile, feeling that in some way they had been tricked. In 1898 the "Fashoda incident" brought war very near between the two countries.

BRITISH RULE

The British found rebellion and disorder in the Sudan in 1882, and had preferred withdrawal to the expense of restoration of order. When, however, the French conceived the plan of connecting their African holdings from west to east across the continent, the British realized that the Sudan possessed no little value, if only because the River Nile, which is the very life of Egypt, has the greater part of its source there. Lord Kitchener, with a mixed British and Egyptian army, took possession of a territory containing about 1,000,000 square miles, which has since been known as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The form of government was dubbed a "Condominium." The head was to be an English officer who would hold the two positions of Governor General of the Sudan and Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army. Under him were Governors of extensive provinces, who were also to be Englishmen. Minor officials might be Egyptians or Sudanese. The army was to consist of British, Egyptian and Sudanese troops. It was later discovered that the Sudan possesses extensive agricultural possibilities. In particular, cotton of excellent quality can be grown on fertile plains which can be irrigated from the Blue and White branches of the Nile.

By cautious and gradual extension of authority, the British Administration of Egypt, which for some twenty-four years was headed by Lord Cromer, directed every branch of the Egyptian Government. Under Cromer the irrigation system was extended and regularized, the population increased rapidly, and the level of prosperity rose steadily. In the first decade of the present century nationalist feeling began to appear strongly. It was encouraged by the revolutions in Persia and Turkey between 1906 and 1909. Cromer on his retirement was forced to admit that the Egyptians would willingly surrender much of the peace and prosperity of British rule for a less orderly existence with complete independence. Lord

Kitchener attempted to improve the situation by instituting a Legislative Assembly.

Not long after the outbreak of the World War the actions of Turkey led Russia, Great Britain and France to declare war on that country. On Dec. 18 the British Government declared that Egypt ceased to be subject to Turkey and was constituted a British Protectorate. On the following day the Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, was declared deposed, and his uncle, Hussein Kamel, was appointed to succeed him with the title of Sultan of Egypt. During the course of the war the nationalists gained strength greatly, though they were careful to avoid action that would hinder the British in their prosecution of the war. Considerable resentment arose because of the extent to which the British levied supplies and labor battalions in Egypt. A strong desire for complete independence grew up and was nourished by the Allies' declarations in favor of the rights of small nations, including that of self-determination. Two days after the armistice, on Nov. 13, 1918, Saad Pasha Zaghlul called upon the British High Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate, and asked to be allowed to go to London in the interest of complete autonomy for Egypt. The request was refused, and popular agitation began and increased rapidly. In March, 1919, Zaghlul and three of his followers were arrested and deported to Malta. Acts of violence developed. Lord Allenby was appointed High Commissioner and recommended a policy of conciliation. Zaghlul was released and allowed to go to Paris, where he arrived at the unpropitious moment when President Wilson recognized the British Protectorate in Egypt.

MOMENTOUS DECLARATION

A British commission under Lord Milner went to Egypt later in 1919 to investigate conditions. In the Summer of 1920 Milner and Zaghlul agreed on a Memorandum according to which the relations between Great Britain and Egypt were to be arranged by a treaty

of alliance, but nothing came of this. Troubles continued, resulting in violence in the Spring of 1921. Zaghlul was again deported. The British Government, apparently despairing of reaching an agreement in which Egypt would cooperate, issued, on Feb. 20, 1922, the famous "Declaration Concerning Egypt," the most important clauses of which were as follows:

1. The British Protectorate over Egypt is terminated, and Egypt is declared to be an independent sovereign State. * * *

3. The following matters are absolutely reserved to the discretion of his Majesty's Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto between his Majesty's Government and the Government of Egypt: (a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt; (b) the defense of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect; (c) the protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities; (d) the Sudan. Pending the conclusion of such agreements, the status quo in all these matters shall remain intact.

In accordance with the Declaration Sultan Fuad assumed the title of King and appointed a commission to draw up a Constitution. This was completed and proclaimed on April 19, 1923. Under its provisions a Parliamentary election was held, and Parliament assembled on March 15, 1924. Zaghlul was made the first Prime Minister under the new Constitution. The new Parliament went to work slowly and took no startling ac-

tion. The Prime Minister was steadily supported in his repeated assertions that he refused to accept the Declaration of 1922, and that he stood unalterably for the complete independence of Egypt and the Sudan. Yet his position did not satisfy the extremists. In July, 1924, an attempt was made upon his

life, and early in August certain cadets and railway troops mutinied in the Sudan. It was affirmed that a number of prominent Egyptians were concerned in a plot to stir up revolt. In September Zaghlul went to London to visit Ramsay MacDonald, then Prime Minister, but obtained no satisfaction in his demands for independence.

Zaghlul returned to Egypt and was received with enthusiasm. He made some changes in the Cabinet, himself remaining Minister of Foreign Affairs as well as Premier. On Nov. 15 Zaghlul appeared before the Chamber of Deputies and offered the resignation of himself and his Cabinet. He stated that he was too tired to go on with the work. Privately he said, "I cannot work amid intrigues." Parliament adopted a vote of confidence by an overwhelming majority. On the following day the Premier had a long audience with the King, after which he



P. & A. Photo

AHMED ZIWAR PASHA
Premier of Egypt in succession to
Zaghlul Pasha

returned to Parliament House and announced that he withdrew his resignation, since the King remained the faithful guardian of the Constitution as he, Zaghlul, was its servant. Meantime university students had left their work and

paraded with thousands of others, cheering for him. One group wrecked the plant of Al Kashkul, a comic weekly which had caricatured Zaghlul and his colleagues. At this time it was announced that twenty-eight civilian cadets who participated in the August demonstrations at Khartum had been sentenced to eight years' imprisonment each. Forty-one other persons awaited trial.

Three days after the confirmation of Zaghlul's position occurred the assassination of Sir Lee Stack while driving from the War Office to his residence. His automobile stopped to allow a street car to pass, when seven Egyptians, said to be students, threw a bomb which failed to explode, and opened fire with revolvers. Sir Lee, who received three wounds, died thirty-six hours later. Within an hour after the attack Zaghlul called at the residency to express his regrets. He then went and informed the King of the circumstances. At no time after the unfortunate event did the Egyptian authorities behave in any other than the most courteous and regretful fashion. Sir Lee Stack had held his high position for five years, and although Zaghlul had been endeavoring to arrange that the Egyptian Army should not be commanded by an Englishman, there was no hint whatsoever of the slightest complicity of the Egyptian Government in the assassination.

GREAT BRITAIN'S ULTIMATUM

The attitude which the new Conservative Government in Great Britain took assumed that the guilt of the assassination rested indirectly upon Zaghlul Pasha and his Cabinet; because they had not merely not discountenanced but had even encouraged agitation against the British and their wishes in regard to Egypt. They had not left the status quo undisturbed. It was now the time to take vigorous action, and to decide as Great Britain wished the questions reserved in the Declaration of 1922, together with other disputes which had arisen. On Nov. 22, the day on which Sir Lee Stack was buried with great ceremony, Lord Allenby received from

London the terms of an ultimatum, which he delivered promptly to Zaghlul. Among the demands were the following: The Egyptian Government was called upon to present an ample apology for the crime, to seek out and punish severely the criminals, to forbid and suppress "all popular political demonstrations," to pay immediately £500,000, to order the immediate withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and troop units, and to give notice that the Sudan Government would increase the area to be irrigated at Gezira from 300,000 acres to an unlimited figure. Meantime British warships were moved in the direction of Egypt, and British troops were dispatched as reinforcements.

The Egyptian Cabinet conferred on the answer to be made, and later consulted with the Chamber of Deputies. After long discussion it was decided to agree to the first four demands, which were felt to be justifiable in the circumstances. As regards the modifications of the situation in the Sudan, these were refused on the ground that they altered the status quo which the British had expressed the desire to maintain. Within an hour and a half Lord Allenby replied that instructions were being sent to carry into effect requirements five and six without awaiting Egyptian consent. He demanded the payment of the indemnity within twenty-four hours. This payment was made within the appointed time. Nevertheless, British troops proceeded to the occupation though not to the administration of the Custom House at Alexandria, in order to enforce a seventh demand, that Egypt recognize the authority of British financial and judicial advisers. Zaghlul Pasha at once resigned the Premiership. The King accepted the resignation and appointed Ziwar Pasha, President of the Senate, to head a new Cabinet constituted as follows:

ZIWAR PASHA—Premier.

AHMED KHASHARA BEY—Minister of Education.

OSMAN MOHARRAM PASHA—Minister of Public Works.

MOHAMED SAGED ABU ALI PASHA—Minister of Agriculture.

MOHAMED SIDKY PASHA—Minister of Pious Foundations.

YUSSEF CATTUAI PASHA—Minister of Finance.

NAKHLA BEYEL MOTEI—Minister of Communications.

MOHAMED SADIK YEHYA PASHA—Minister of War.

Ahmed Zulfikar Pasha, the Egyptian Minister at Rome, was chosen for appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Parliament was suspended for a month, as permitted by the Constitution.

SUDANESE MUTINY

The new Cabinet, after consultations with Lord Allenby, agreed to every one of the British demands. Two members of the Cabinet, however, resigned immediately. British authorities arrested several prominent officials, including some members of the Chamber of Deputies. On Ziwar's protest that this was unconstitutional, the prisoners were delivered to him for safe keeping. Meantime a number of less important persons had been arrested, among whom, it was said, were three of the seven who participated in the assassination. The Egyptian troops in the Sudan sent word that they would not depart when ordered by the British, but were prepared to fight and die. Ziwar Pasha hastily sent them instructions to withdraw peaceably, which they proceeded to obey. Contrary to expectation, some two hundred of the black Sudanese troops mutinied against the British orders. They seized a hospital, killing three physicians in so doing. Their position was stormed and they were overwhelmed, with some losses on each side.

The Egyptian Parliament drew up an appeal to the League of Nations, which was also sent to the other Parliaments of the world. At first the position was taken that the League of Nations could not hear the requests from a Parliament, but only from a Government. Later this decision was reconsidered, and it was announced that the appeal would be brought before the Council of the League. The Egyptian protest crit-

icized the British note as outrageous on the ground that its demands were not justified by the assassination and were contrary to the rights of man, that the Sudan was necessary to Egypt's existence and that the occupation of the customs at Alexandria had no justification. Zaghlul Pasha, in an appeal to the British Labor Party, contended that the British Government had forced unconstitutional action in Egypt. He added:

I am happy to say that the country is exceedingly quiet after my repeated appeals that it remain so and despite military and police provocations. Egypt now is virtually governed by martial law, lacking only the name. The old policy of persecution now reigns. Feelings of bitterness and suppressed indignation are general. The news from England indicating the Imperialists' dread of arbitration is significant, and increases that feeling.

Early in December Lord Allenby sent to London a warning to guard Cabinet Ministers and the royal family against a threatened murder plot which might be carried through by Egyptian nationalists. The warning led to the taking of considerable precautions. In King George's speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament on Dec. 9, he said:

A campaign of hostility to British rights and interests in Egypt and the Sudan, inspired rather than discouraged by the Government of Zaghlul Pasha, culminated in the murder of Sir Lee Stack on the streets of Cairo and obliged my Government to demand redress. Their demands, which the present Egyptian Government have accepted, are designed to secure respect for those interests which are of vital concern to my Empire and which my Government specifically reserved to their absolute discretion when my protectorate over Egypt was withdrawn.

The British official attitude was further defined in a statement made in Rome on Dec. 10 by Foreign Secretary Austen Chamberlain, who warned the powers against any interference in what Great Britain considered a purely domestic affair. "If any of my colleagues on the Council [of the League of Nations] asks for information out of curiosity," he said, "I shall answer as a matter of courtesy, but I do not intend to volunteer any information."

A Month's World History

Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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SINCE the election President Coolidge has been quietly at work dealing with the questions that required his attention. In his formal Thanksgiving Day proclamation (Nov. 6), he expressed the national thanks because in foreign relations "ways have been revealed to us by which we could perform very great service through the giving of friendly counsel, through the extension of financial assistance and through the exercise of a spirit of neighborly kindness to less favored peoples." He announced (Nov. 7) the names of a commission of eight, selected as representing various agricultural organizations, under the Chairmanship of ex-Governor Cary of Wyoming. That committee was appointed to point out methods for the improvement of agricultural conditions.

The President caused it to be understood (Nov. 8) that he did not expect to call a special session of the Congress just elected and available after March 4. He declared himself against an inaugural ball (Nov. 11) on the dryly humorous issue that he had never learned to dance. Upon the assertion of certain opponents that the high price of wheat before the election was due to "a rigging of the market by powerful supporters of the President," he remarked that those men "seem to be not aware that the election was over." The President did not make a formal speech till Nov. 13, when he addressed the Association of Land Grant Colleges. He paid a high compliment to them and urged that the attention of teachers of agriculture be turned to the great problems of marketing. By special proclamation (Nov. 14) he called attention to Education Week. It was semi-officially announced (Nov. 15) that the President would in no case call an early special

session, and did not expect action on taxes by the new Congress until after the close of the financial year on June 30, 1925.

On Nov. 19 the President accepted the honorary Presidency of the United States Flag Association, of which the active President is Elihu Root. Before the National Conference on Utilization of Forest Products (Nov. 20) he called attention to "the present appalling waste," and pointed out that "it took three generations to harvest these immense forests." He predicted that we must soon come to depend upon "the sense of timber as a crop." In a letter (dated Nov. 14 and made public Nov. 19) to Richard H. Edmonds, editor of the *Manufacturers' Record*, the President expressed his interest in the industrial and agricultural progress of the South. It was pointed out (Nov. 21) that when the President signed the bill authorizing the examination of returns, he alluded to the income tax publicity as an "unwarranted interference with the right of the citizen to privacy." He expressed the opinion (Nov. 21) that reduction of railroad wages was not desirable, even if it might bring about a reduction of freight charges. The public was given to understand (Nov. 23), after an audience with representatives of church bodies to urge world peace, and representatives of large business organizations headed by Walker D. Hine, that the President would again propose to Congress that the United States adhere to the World Court of International Justice. With regard to the detail of military officers for temporary service in States and municipalities, he expressed his dislike of a system which "constantly keeps the President in the picture." He again announced (Nov. 28) that he did not expect to call the

next Congress for an extra session "unless there is some compelling reason."

Congress duly met on Dec. 1 and next day the President sent to the two houses a message containing the Treasury figures as to the year's income and expenditure, clinching it with the statement: "I am for economy. * * *

If we continue the campaign for economy we will pave the way for further reduction in taxes." He predicted a surplus of about \$68,000,000. His annual message, sent to Congress in writing (Dec. 3), hammered at what was evidently near the President's heart—the enactment of the Mellon tax reduction plan, with economy in appropriations. He also said a good word for the World Court of International Justice, and put on record his opinion, with regard to debts due the United States Government by foreign Governments, that it was "for the best welfare of the world that they should be liquidated and paid as fast as possible." On transportation he favored the grouping of the railroads into a small number of large systems. He desired some relief for the farmer. With regard to the Muscle Shoals water power proposals, he advised that if no proper offer were made for lease or purchase, "the development should continue and the plant should be dedicated primarily to the production of materials for the fertilization of the soil." He also expressed an interest in the negro race and a desire that they should be free from coercion.

The President caused much astonishment by arriving in Chicago (Dec. 4) in an ordinary passenger train, in which he occupied an ordinary state-room and partook of a dinner costing the usual \$1.25. His reason was that he did not see the need of spending \$2,200 when the whole party could make the round trip comfortably for about \$500. In an address before the Commercial Club of Chicago he laid down the broad doctrine, "We can no more assure permanent and stable peace without cooperation among the nations than we could assure victory in war without allies among them." He also

asked his civic audience "what price we are proposing to pay, what rewards we are proposing to confer in exchange for the hard-working lives on the farm." The same day, before the Chicago Live Stock Exposition, he suggested that a remedy of the farmer was to lessen production and also to work out a plan of cooperative marketing.

The death of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace left a vacancy which it was announced (Nov. 12) was to be filled by the promotion of Assistant Secretary Howard N. Gore to serve till March 4. It was stated (Nov. 20) that Secretary of Commerce Hoover would continue during the President's second Administration. It was made public (Nov. 25) that Vice President-elect Dawes did not desire to sit as a member of the Cabinet without a portfolio, as Coolidge did in the Harding Cabinet.

CONGRESS AND PARTIES

The Congress that convened in December was in a situation that had grown out of our clumsy method of electing members long in advance of their terms of office. Nearly all the members of both Houses are chosen in November; and unless a special session is called, members are thus elected fifteen months before they can take their seats. A proposed constitutional amendment would alter this state of things by inaugurating the President, and also beginning the new session of Congress, much sooner after election.

Several "bloc" Senators were dropped with other Republican Party committee fighters, including Ladd of North Dakota. Several changes also occurred in the Senate membership. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, after thirty-one years of continuous membership, died on Nov. 9, and under the law of Massachusetts Governor Cox appointed William M. Butler, long-time warm personal friend of Calvin Coolidge, to sit till 1927. This gave the President what he had hitherto lacked, a Massachusetts friend whom he could take into his confidence and who could act as his spokesman in the Senate. The important post

of Republican leader in the Senate, long held by Senator Lodge, was assigned to Senator Curtis of Kansas.

A significant suit came before the Supreme Court on the question whether the President had a constitutional right to grant pardons to persons sentenced to a continuing punishment for contempt of court without regular trial. Chief Justice Taft urged (Nov. 27) the District Judges throughout the Union to unite in framing rules to prevent unreasonable delays and the prolongation of suits.

Although the existing Congress contained a number of "lame ducks" who sought re-election and failed, it was likely to take action on two or three important points. No serious legislation on taxation was probable, because it would need the support of members who did not support it previously. The President worked hard for legislation in relief of the farmers, and the former members of the farm bloc seemed disposed to assist. One of the indications for the future was a growing disposition to give committee memberships and Chairmanships to Western men. Senator Borah of Idaho, for example, became Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the most valued position in the Senate.

Later election results (as collated Nov. 13) showed that from 1925 to 1927 members of the House would be distributed as follows: Republicans, 246; Democrats, 184; Farmer-Laborites, 3; Socialists, 2. Of this total of 435, 79 would sit in Congress for the first time. The net Republican gain over the previous Congress would be 21.

According to the statistics of campaign expenses the official Republican out-go amounted to \$4,360,000. Of this \$3,064,000 was spent on the national campaign, about \$1,000,000 on State campaigns and about \$350,000 remained—probably the only surplus ever realized in a national Presidential campaign. The Democratic official returns showed \$904,000 expenses and \$846,000 collected, leaving a deficit of about \$58,000, which was covered by a

bank loan. The La Follette expenditures were \$222,000 and the receipts about \$225,000. These sums were much less than in 1920 and 1916. Party committees and candidates seemed to have found no serious difficulty in complying with the law.

The morrow of the election found the Republican Party triumphant. Senator Butler remained Chairman of the National Committee. On the other hand, the split in the Democratic Party between the Smith men and the McAdoo men did not seem completely healed; but the party organization in Congress and throughout the country continued as usual. The Third Party polled about 4,500,000 votes out of the total of 28,500,000: something less than a sixth of the whole. La Follette announced that he "had just begun to fight" and he called on his friends to organize for the Congressional campaign of 1926. The question whether a Third Party could hold its own was closely linked up with the attitude of organized labor. The opposition of the late Samuel Gompers to Labor declaring in advance for a candidate of its own or some other party seemed justified by the results. The mass labor vote was not delivered.

BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

The Couzens Senate committee resumed (Nov. 10) hearings on the workings of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, including reductions and refunds of income taxes. The returns for the calendar year 1923 seemed to run about the same as in 1922, notwithstanding the 25 per cent. reduction allowed in 1923, which amounted to about \$80,000,000. The New York law laying an annual franchise levy on foreign corporations doing business within the State has been affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

A plan for consolidation of nearly all the bakeries in the country under a Continental Corporation has been attacked before the Trade Commission. That body has upon its hands various

controversies as to its power and authority.

TRAFFIC PROBLEMS

It was announced (Nov. 19) by the Association of Railway Executives that about \$2,000,000,000 had been expended on improvements and on new equipment in the last two years, and that more than \$1,000,000,000 would be expended next year. They drew up a program in which they insisted that the railroad question was not political and did not call for new acts of Congress or governmental machinery, and that the railroads must receive a reasonable return on investments. Nevertheless, a strong purpose was apparent among the farmers and many business men to reduce railroad rates. The farmers put forward a demand to be represented on the Interstate Commerce Commission, and Senator Cummings of Iowa was reported to be seeking an understanding with La Follette and others for a new railroad statute.

The building of smooth-surfaced highways continued throughout the country, and in some States beyond the means of the community. Secretary Hoover secured the appointment of several committees by associations of manufacturers of automobiles and others to study the problems of automobile traffic and to see how the annual toll of 18,000 deaths and 100,000 non-fatal automobile accidents could be reduced. It has been proposed to standardize the signals and warnings throughout the country.

Governor Morrow of the Panama Canal Zone reported (Nov. 18) that in the last fiscal year the net revenue of the canal and the Panama Railroad was over \$18,000,000, about four times as much as it was two years previously. About half the traffic went from one point on the coast of the United States to another.

The report of Postmaster General New (Dec. 3) showed that first-class mail and postal savings accounts made a profit, but all other branches of the service were run at a loss, amounting

to \$75,000,000 in the handling of second-class mail, the total deficit being a little under \$40,000,000. The President as far back as June suggested that postal salaries ought not to be raised till rates were placed on a higher basis. Nevertheless there was an effort in Congress to pass the bill over the President's veto.

The newest form of communication of human thought, the radio, continued to make surprising advances. One of the latest striking feats was broadcasting from places in England and Spain, heard after a fashion in the United States (Nov. 25), and the transfer of photographs by radio from London (Nov. 30). The question of assigning wave lengths under some kind of governmental supervision was still under consideration. Secretary Hoover (Dec. 4) strongly advised against any immediate action by Congress.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The only change noted in the personnel of the State Department was the designation of John Van A. MacMurray to be Assistant Secretary of State, succeeding A. A. Adee.

A Claims Commission has been provided for by an agreement with Austria and Hungary (Nov. 26). The American-German Commission has made another group of awards, including \$6,500,000 to the Standard Oil Company.

Secretary of State Hughes (Dec. 3) announced the signing of a treaty with Great Britain on the status of the British mandate over Palestine.

On the general question of world peace, a prize of \$25,000 has been awarded to David R. Jordan, Chancellor Emeritus of Stanford University, for his "Plan of Education for Peace and the Promotion of World Amity." The Board of Methodist Bishops approached the problem in a different way by its "insistent demand" that if war broke out the wealth and the labor of the country as well as its man power should be subject to conscription.

LAW AND ORDER

No end was apparent to the era of violent crime which prevailed throughout the country. In Chicago, Mayor Dever declared that the "situation is becoming unbearable," and proposed a general drive against bad characters. In New York several members of the Board of Aldermen made charges against the police, which were backed up by Commissioner of Accounts Hirshfield. In Schenectady, where a police captain was killed, Mayor Campbell was threatened with death unless he "laid off with us."

William H. Anderson, serving a term at Sing Sing on a conviction connected with his activities as an official of the Anti-Saloon League, was granted a parole in the custody of the Salvation Army to take effect on Dec. 24. The Parole Board made a special rule in his case.

A curious episode in California was the diversion of the Los Angeles Aqueduct by "approximately 100 citizens" of Inyo County on the ground that the city must divert water enough to irrigate 30,000 acres or else buy out some of the ranches.

A conference of the United States senior Circuit Judges has proposed that the jurisdiction in all liquor prosecutions should be transferred from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice. Attorney General Stone in his annual report (Dec. 4) said that "docket statistics with relation to enforcement of liquor laws for the past fiscal year are distinctly encouraging." In New Jersey connection has been found between the United States officials and organized bootleggers, so that marshal law has been suggested as the only means of dealing with the crisis.

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL

Race relations in the United States remained peaceable. Negroes in the South seemed rather more contented than for some time. The "wild Indians" ceased to be after the remnants of certain tribes in Utah were brought into a reservation. A Blackfoot Indian

was elected Sheriff of Glacier County, Montana.

The celebration of Education Week throughout the country was given up largely to ideas on the teaching of patriotism. Four recent large educational gifts attracted general attention—\$1,000,000 from Edward S. Harkness, to enable Yale to set up a Department of Dramatic Art, under the headship of Professor George P. Baker, long of Harvard. The University of Pittsburgh decided on a future expenditure of \$10,000,000 for "a Cathedral of Learning"—a skyscraper building large enough for 12,000 students. George Eastman, camera manufacturer (Dec. 9), made gifts of stock valued at \$30,000,000 for various institutions of learning. On the same day was announced a gift by James Buchanan Duke, tobacco manufacturer, of a trust fund of \$40,000,000 to found a Duke University, and in aid of various institutions in North and South Carolina.

The American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies made public in Washington on Dec. 10 the signing of a contract on Dec. 6 with The New York Times Company for the preparation of a Dictionary of American Biography. It was stated that the proposed dictionary, which would consist of some twenty volumes, had been made possible by The New York Times through the action of its publisher, Adolph S. Ochs, as The Times had agreed to advance \$500,000 toward the preparation of a manuscript of the highest grade under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. The plan contemplated between 15,000 and 20,000 biographies, not including any living persons.

LABOR AND IMMIGRATION

Labor seemed to be well employed. The question of the powers of the Federal Labor Board to require testimony has been settled for the time being by a decision of a Federal Judge in Chicago to the effect that the board might ask the courts for the necessary process. The Child Labor Amendment to the

Constitution received a setback by the large majority against it in Massachusetts on a referendum. The Russell Sage Foundation (Nov. 20) issued a report on public employment offices, to the general effect that the existing methods of recruiting and distributing labor were inadequate, wasteful and in some places corrupt.

According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, labor unions since 1920 have been losing members so that the aggregate membership has fallen from 5,100,000 in 1920 to 3,800,000 in 1923. President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America (Dec. 3) expelled from that organization 12,000 miners who insisted on striking contrary to direction.

Secretary of Labor Davis in his annual report of Dec. 3 repeated his recommendation that Canadians, Mexicans and South Americans should be subject to quota restrictions, which would mean something very near prohi-

bition against all South America. Notwithstanding the restrictive legislation, total emigration rose from 310,000 in the year ended June 30, 1922, to 520,000 in 1923 and 710,000 in 1924. Against this last is to be charged a deduction of about 80,000 aliens who returned. The total for 1924 included 200,000 coming in from Canada and 90,000 from Mexico, leaving about 540,000 net immigration from outside America, almost all of which came from Europe. In addition, a very large immigration slipped through in defiance of law from Canada, and not less than 100,000 Mexicans have crossed the border in a year without the formality of a count.

ARMY PENSIONS

The report of the Commissioner of Pensions (Dec. 5) showed that \$230,000,000 was paid in the last fiscal year to 525,000 pensioners, including 33 widows of soldiers of the War of 1812.

Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE Government of Mexico passed on Nov. 30, 1924, from the hands of General Alvaro Obregón, the retiring President, into those of General Plutarco Elias Calles, elected to the Presidency of the republic by the elections of July 6. This was an event of overshadowing interest and importance in Mexico's history. The peaceful transmission of executive power from a retiring constitutional Mexican President to his constitutionally elected successor had occurred only three other times since the independence of Mexico, namely, in 1851, when Arista succeeded Herrera; in 1880, when González succeeded Díaz, and in 1884, when Díaz succeeded González. The spectacle of peaceful politics is still unusual in Mexico, and Mexico City, the capital, donned holiday attire to celebrate Inauguration Day.

At noon on Nov. 30, in the National Stadium, General Plutarco Elias Calles was inaugurated President of Mexico. The oath of office was administered to General Calles at a special joint session of the Mexican Congress held in the National Stadium, and was witnessed by 25,000 people, including General Obregón, the retiring President; members of the diplomatic corps, Federal and State officials, labor delegations from the various Mexican States, over 300 delegates from the American Federation of Labor, headed by Samuel Gompers, and approximately 1,000 visitors from the United States. The 25,000 spectators cheered with intense enthusiasm when General Calles and General Obregón met in a cordial embrace and then left together to attend an official reception.

The personnel of the Cabinet of Presi-

dent Calles and other important appointments are as follows:

- GILBERTO VALENZUELA—Interior.
- ROMEO ORTEGA—Under-Secretary of Interior.
- AARON SAENZ—Foreign Relations.
- LUIS MORONES—Industry, Commerce and Labor.
- LUIS LEON—Agriculture.
- LUIS G. PARRÉS—Under-Secretary of Agriculture.
- JOSE MANUEL PUIG CASAURANG—Education.
- MANUEL GAMIO—Under-Secretary of Education.
- ADALBERTO TEJADA—Communications.
- EDUARDO ORTIZ—Under-Secretary of Communications.
- JOAQUIN AMARO—Under-Secretary of War and Marine.
- ALBERTO J. PANI—Finance.
- ALBERTO MASCARENAS—Under-Secretary of Finance.

Ramon Ross remains Governor of the Federal District and Fernando Torreblanca, former private secretary of President Obregón, remains as private secretary to President Calles, who is his father-in-law.

Congratulatory greetings were cabled to President Calles by Presidents Ebert of Germany and Coolidge of the United States. President Coolidge expressed "best wishes for a most successful Administration of the affairs of the republic, conducive to your own fame and the prosperity and happiness of the Mexican people."

President-elect Calles returned to Mexico City on Nov. 11 from a four months' tour of Europe and the United States. His arrival in the capital was the occasion of several demonstrations, in which organized labor played a prominent part. President Obregón welcomed General Calles to Mexico City and he was greeted by a salute of twenty-one guns. President Obregón and General Calles were given an ovation when they attended a bull-fight together on Nov. 17. American labor was honored on Dec. 2, through the reception tendered by General Calles as the new President of Mexico, to the American Federation of Labor, at the National Palace.

Both Mexico and the United States, but particularly the latter country, were deeply shocked by the death of Mr. Gompers at San Antonio on Dec. 13. President Calles and Luis Morones, Mexican Minister of Labor, at once sent a message of condolence to Mr. Gompers's widow. The Mexican Regional Federation of Labor suspended all activities as a token of mourning. Tributes of honor and respect were paid to the funeral train on its way from San Antonio. Many messages expressing the American Nation's sorrow were sent to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor at Washington. The high altitude of Mexico City and the fatigue of travel were the causes to which Mr. Gompers's death was attributed. By the death of the great labor leader, Luis Morones became President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Governors of fourteen Mexican States who attended the inauguration of President Calles bound themselves to seek the support of the President for the introduction of a Congressional measure that would permit the issuance of agrarian debt bonds independently by each State for the promotion of agriculture. Under the proposed plan each Governor of a Mexican State has one year in which to decide what public utility and agricultural works are needed in his State. The various reports will then be sent to a commission, which will fix the total sums required to enable the President to obtain Congressional authorization.

A shooting affray in which more than 200 shots were fired came as the climax of a stormy debate in the Chamber of Deputies on Nov. 12, and resulted in the serious wounding of Deputy Luis Morones, recognized Labor leader in Mexico, and the fatal wounding of Deputy Leocadio Guerrero.

General José Baría Sánchez, Governor of the State of Puebla and prominent Agrarian leader in Mexico, ordered the removal from office on Nov. 15 of Cosme Zafra, Attorney General of the State of Puebla, while he was actively en-

gaged in the prosecution of two men charged with the murder last August of Mrs. Rosalie Evans, the American-born widow of an English subject. The following day the two men on trial were sentenced to death, notwithstanding the protest of Cosme Zafra that the trial was illegal because of his absence from court following his enforced removal from the office of Attorney General of the State. Enmities growing out of the trial in question culminated by Nov. 19 in serious clashes between State troops and Agrarians in the vicinity of Puebla City. The two convicted murderers on Nov. 21 appealed to the Supreme Court to nullify their trial because of alleged judicial irregularities.

Opposition to the new national income tax was fairly general throughout Mexico during November. The most significant protest was the action taken by the Convention of the Chambers of Commerce of the Republic of Mexico on Nov. 17. At that time it was agreed that the new tax would not be paid by the commerce of the nation. Details of the methods to be used in opposing the tax were left to the jurisdiction of the various Chambers. A unanimous resolution voiced the opposition of commerce to the income tax decree and expressed the hope that the new President, General Calles, would repeal the objectionable measure.

Stanislas Petskovsky, Russian Soviet Minister to Mexico, presented his credentials to President Obregón on Nov. 7. M. Petskovsky, speaking in English, stated that Russia had been following step by step Mexico's struggle to maintain independence and secure a betterment in the condition of the workers. President Obregón in his reply stated that a new era was dawning for Mexican working men, and that Mexico and Russia had similar ideas in uplifting the downtrodden masses. Vasilio Vaddillo, the first Mexican Minister to Soviet Russia, presented his credentials to the Soviet Government at Moscow on Nov. 16.

Following close upon his recent aggressive anti-Japanese campaign, Governor Abelardo Rodríguez of the North-

ern District of Lower California announced on Nov. 15 that, because of the violation of the terms of concessions by Japanese fishermen, he had canceled very extensive fishing concessions held by Japanese on the Gulf and Pacific Coasts of Lower California.

The Mexico-Japanese treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, which was signed on Oct. 8, was ratified unanimously by the Mexican Senate on Nov. 29. The Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum was conferred upon President Obregón by the Japanese Ambassador to Mexico shortly before the expiration of President Obregón's term of office.

Marked progress by the Mexican Government in the execution of a definite program for the education of 12,000,000 illiterate Indians was reported by J. De Courcy in an article published in *The New York Times* on Nov. 22. It was stated that the Department of Indian Culture, under the direction of Professor Ramírez, who is responsible solely to the Mexican Minister of Education, was giving instruction to 77,401 full-time pupils and to approximately 70,000 part-time pupils. This work was being carried on almost wholly in the rural, mountainous and densely forested regions, which are inhabited almost entirely by Indians. Engaged in the work are 148 missionary teachers and 1,146 rural teachers and a smaller number of supervising officials.

The sixth annual convention of the Mexican Confederation of Labor at Juárez on Nov. 22 unanimously adopted a resolution expressing appreciation to the people of the United States for the assistance given by the United States Government to the Obregón Government during the de la Huerta revolution of last Winter.

Costa Rica

THE Costa Rican Constitutional Congress on Nov. 20, by a vote of 25 to 14, ratified the general treaty of peace and amity and the eleven conventions that were signed by the delegates from Guatemala, El Salvador, Hondu-

ras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica at the conference on Central American affairs that was held at Washington from Dec. 4, 1922, to Feb. 7, 1923. It was announced by the United States Department of State on Nov. 22 that as a result of this action by Costa Rica the following treaties would come into effect as between the countries which had ratified them: General treaty of peace and amity between Guatemala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica; convention for the limitation of armaments between Costa Rica; convention for the establishment of stations for agricultural experiments and animal industries between Nicaragua, El Salvador and Costa Rica; convention on the practice of the liberal professions between Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua, El Salvador and Costa Rica. The other conventions which were signed at the Central American conference had not yet been ratified by a sufficient number of signatories to make them effective.

Following the precedent set by President Jiménez of Costa Rica on Oct. 19 in approving and defending, in a signed statement and in five other published articles, the above-mentioned treaty and conventions, many prominent Costa Ricans subsequently discussed and defended them, either in signed statements or in authorized interviews, all of which professed confidence in the United States and a desire to cooperate with the other Central American Republics. Many favorable editorials were published in the Costa Rican press.

Nicaragua

REPORTS on the recent Nicaraguan elections sent to the United States Department of State indicated that up to Nov. 10 the vote cast totaled approximately 75,000, with returns lacking from eighty-four out of 500 cantons. Of the votes tabulated, Solorzano received 41,075, Chamorro received 26,566 and Corea received 7,184.

Abraham F. Lindberg, formerly Deputy Collector General of Customs in Nicaragua, and Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks

of New York University had been named by President Martínez to revise the banking and financial laws of Nicaragua.

Honduras

IT was announced that elections for the purpose of choosing a constitutional successor to Provisional President Tosta had been postponed from Nov. 25 to Dec. 28.

The aviation building of the Honduran Government and seven airplanes were burned on Nov. 25 as the result of the explosion of a commercial airplane in attempting to effect a landing.

Guatemala

OFFICIAL advices made from Berlin on Nov. 25 stated that Germany and Guatemala had concluded a commercial treaty based on mutual recognition and the most-favored-nation principle.

Panama Canal Zone

FIGURES made public by the War Department on Nov. 18 showed that the fiscal year ended June 30, 1924, was the most prosperous one in the history of the Panama Canal. During that fiscal year the profits from the Canal itself and the business operations in connection with canal activities totaled \$17,209,572 and the profits of the Panama Railroad were \$1,044,887, making a total profit of \$18,254,459. Exclusive of American toll-exempt craft and others allowed free passage, 5,230 ships, with a net tonnage of 26,146,878, passed through the Canal. Tolls from these vessels amounted to \$24,290,963, which exceeds by 38.7 per cent. the tolls collected during the preceding fiscal year (1922-1923). Of the total cargo carried through the Canal during the fiscal year of 1924, 61.7 per cent. was carried by vessels of American registry, and an even 50 per cent. of the total cargo was furnished by American intercoastal trade. In addition to vessels of American registry, vessels under registry of twenty foreign nations carried 38.3 per

cent. of the total cargo passing through the Canal. Of the vessels under foreign registry, those under British registry carried 22.4 per cent., those under Japanese registry carried 3.5 per cent., those under German registry carried 2.7 per cent., and those under Norwegian registry carried 2 per cent. of the total cargo tonnage which passed through the Canal in 1923-1924.

Cuba

A MOST disturbing factor in Cuba during November was the labor situation. The Cuban Government announced on Nov. 19 that army officers and small contingents of troops had been detailed to guard nine sugar mills in the Province of Camaguey, where strikes were halting preparations for the grinding season, and that similar protection would be given, if necessary, to each of twenty-one mills affected by

the strike. Despite these protective measures, the strike movement spread, notably in the Province of Santa Clara, and by Nov. 22 twenty-five mills were affected. In Oriente Province railroad workers, in sympathy with the striking mill workers, refused to haul freight for sugar mills whose men were out. During the last week of November the Government expelled six foreign agitators, charged with being "pernicious foreigners," and on Nov. 29 announcement was made by the Secretary of the Interior that twenty-eight additional labor agitators would be expelled from Cuba on the following day. At that time the sugar mills were operating despite the strike.

At a meeting of the Cuban Cabinet on Nov. 21 the Secretary of the Treasury announced that between May 21, 1921, and Oct. 31, 1924, Cuba's public debt had been reduced by \$36,520,620, and that funds in the Cuban Treasury totaled \$25,069,596.

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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WHAT was generally accepted as the most important international agreement of its kind in history was signed by the representatives of eighteen American republics gathered at the Seventh Pan-American Sanitary Conference in Havana, Nov. 5-15, 1924. Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua were the only republics unrepresented at the conference, and the treaty, known as the Pan-American Sanitary Code, contained a special clause authorizing the adherence of these nations. The chief results of the conference, as summarized by George W. Hinman Jr. of Washington, for THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, were as follows:

The conference adopted a model pure food and drugs law, corresponding in substance to the act now operative in the

United States. The model was approved unanimously as affording a standard toward which all the nations of the New World could work.

Another feature of the conference was the fact that three of the American republics—Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras—named Cubans to represent them at the meeting. This was interpreted as additional evidence of growing Pan-American solidarity.

The Pan-American Sanitary Code was designed for "the prevention of the international spread of communicable infections of human beings" and for "the promotion of cooperative measures for the prevention of the introduction and spread of disease into and from the territories of the signatory Governments." With these ends in view, the code pro-

vided for the standardization of procedure at ports of entry and for the collection and interchange of important statistics and of "information which may be of value in improving the public health and combating the diseases of man." For the first time, specific provision was made for aircraft traffic. The agreement also placed the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau on a treaty basis as "the central coordinating agency of the various member republics of the Pan-American Union."

During the month under review immigration problems constituted the dominant question before the peoples of Latin America. Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay recently made a special study of the problems of the incoming foreigner. Secretary J. J. Davis of the United States Department of Labor spent some weeks in South America studying the systems in operation there. "Several South American countries," said Secretary Davis, "are devoting some of their best efforts to the solution of the problem of the stranger within their gates. If there is anything in their experience which can assist us in our alien immigrant problem, we surely should know about it and take advantage of it." The Secretary's itinerary provided for visits to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Panama.

An airplane carrying passengers crossed the Andes on Dec. 4, this being the first time such a feat ever was achieved. Two Junker planes left Buenos Aires on Dec. 3 and landed in Santiago, Chile, the following morning. One of the planes carried three passengers; the other was a small observer ship.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the British Indian poet, during a lecture tour of South America, was taken seriously ill in Buenos Aires on Nov. 19 and forced to cancel the remainder of the tour.

Argentina

DR. HUGO ECKENER, who piloted the ZR-3 from Germany to the United States, announced plans to establish a dirigible service from Madrid to Buenos Aires.

The first official estimate of the production of wheat in Argentina for the season of 1924-25 was 190,000,000 bushels, according to the American Commercial Attaché stationed there. This estimate was 57,000,000 bushels less than last year's production. Only once before, since Argentina began to produce wheat on a large scale, has the production fallen as low as this year's estimated crop. Long-continued drought during July, August and September were blamed for the low yield. Copious rains in October redeemed the situation somewhat.

For the first time in years Argentina faced the prospect of having her revenue receipts exceed her expenditures, according to an official forecast of the 1924 budget. It was estimated that the total income up to Dec. 31 would amount to 597,241,000 paper pesos, exceeding expenditures by some 908,000 pesos. The budget for 1925 showed total expenditures of 588,641,068 pesos (approximately \$60,000,000) for the usual Government activities, plus some \$2,200,000 for sundry subsidies and bounties. More than one-quarter of the total expenses was for service on the foreign debt, the next largest sum being spent for the Department of Justice and Public Instruction. Estimated revenues just balanced expenses. The lottery was relied upon to supply a considerable portion of the sum to be spent on subsidies and bounties. An extraordinary session of Congress was convened on Nov. 24 to consider the 1925 budget, and also the consolidation of the State Railway indebtedness, which was officially estimated at 150,000,000 paper pesos.

Argentina, which now has a population of 9,000,000, would take steps to increase its population by way of a larger immigration, under the terms of a Government bill on land settlement which was introduced in the Argentine Congress. This bill empowered the executive authorities to acquire or expropriate public or private land for use by agricultural settlement undertakings of recognized public utility.

Brazil

PRESIDENT BERNARDES on Nov. 15 issued a manifesto to the Brazilian people upon the fulfillment of the second year of his Presidential term. This pronouncement made clear that the Government was firm in its determination to maintain order and to sustain the legally constituted authorities. The President denied the persistent rumors that he would resign, and added that no amnesty would be granted to those who participated in recent revolutionary outbreaks. The manifesto was eloquent with denunciation of the rebellious factions, which, it was stated, had interrupted the Government's operations by compelling it to devote attention to maintenance of order. The message declared that the present state of affairs "must have an end quickly, whatever may be the means necessary to obtain it." The Chief Executive also charged that his political adversaries, defeated in the last election, brought about the recent subversive movements because of an "inordinate ambition for power and the possession of the Public Treasury."

The Brazilian battleship *Sao Paulo*, which mutinied Nov. 4 and sailed out of Rio de Janeiro harbor, reached Montevideo on Nov. 10. A part of the mutinous crew crossed Uruguay into Southern Brazil, where they joined the rebel forces operating against the Brazilian Government in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. The battleship was finally surrendered to a crew of 200 from her sister ship, the *Minas Geraes*. The latter remained loyal to the constituted authorities and pursued the mutineers to the Uruguayan capital. Both vessels left Nov. 14 for Rio de Janeiro.

The Brazilian Consul at Tokio notified the Japanese Government on Dec. 2 that he had been instructed to suspend the granting of visas for intending emigrants to Brazil. The Japanese Foreign Office, taken by surprise, asked the Japanese Minister in Brazil to report on the matter at once. Immigration into Brazil from Japan had been encouraged in recent years; an official announcement

from Japan in October asserted that 1,600 more emigrants from that country would go to Brazil before the end of this year. On Dec. 4 the Brazilian Foreign Office stated, in explanation of the action of its Consul in Tokio, that Brazil had stopped the entrance of immigrants from all countries until such time as it was assured that all who come could be satisfactorily located. The exclusion policy adopted was therefore only a temporary one.

Sir John Tilley, British Ambassador to Brazil, was cleared of the charge that he was responsible for the detention of W. A. Stewart, Counselor of the Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, and for sending him to a hospital for medical examination. These charges were made by Stewart and a special committee was named by the MacDonald Government to investigate them. The British Foreign Office issued a statement on Nov. 24 vindicating Sir John; it also was announced that the Ambassador, who went to England to answer the charges, would return to his post.

Increase in the cost of living throughout the republic, especially in the capital, caused serious concern. The average food index number for the first ten months of 1924 in Rio de Janeiro was 290.49, as compared to 100 in 1913. This increase corresponded closely to the depreciation of Brazilian currency in the foreign exchange market. The cost of living rose steadily in spite of efforts on the part of the Federal, State and municipal authorities to check the movement. The following imports were placed on the free list until Dec. 31, 1924: Rice, lard, dried meat, potatoes, beans, condensed milk, butter and corn.

Chile

A GOVERNMENTAL crisis was precipitated on Dec. 13 by the resignation of the Cabinet. The crisis was described as a trial of strength between the Government junta and the military junta. The latter protested against the Government junta's decision to discharge Colonel Ewing, commander of the carabineros, or mounted police, for

indirect political propaganda, without consultation with the military group. The crisis was temporarily adjusted by an agreement that the Cabinet would be reorganized.

The Government junta then in control promulgated a decree on Nov. 6 announcing that a national election would be held on May 10, 1925, to elect a President by direct vote of the people, instead of by the previous system of electors; it was also stated that a Senate and Chamber of Deputies would be chosen at the same time in accordance with the new electoral law. This law provided for a registration period in January. Registration was made compulsory, and special measures were adopted to prevent duplication of names, forgery, bribery and violence at elections. A detailed plan for bridging the transition from the present Provisional Government to a Constitutional régime was laid down, under which the new President and his Government would take over power by Sept. 18, 1924.

It was announced that the Chilean Ministry of the Interior had granted permission to a native engineer to build a subway in Santiago. The concession covered a period of twenty years and required the concessionaire to submit plans and specifications within one year. A section a mile and a half long, under the Alameda de las Delicias, to cost approximately \$7,000,000, was to be completed within five years.

Modifications were made in the Chilean Income Tax law which went into effect Jan. 2, 1924. Oct. 1 was fixed as the final date after which penalties would be inflicted upon delinquents. The number of offices at which the tax may be paid was considerably increased owing to urgent need for collecting the tax rapidly, and the minimum income exempt from taxation was raised from approximately \$260 to \$520. Congress passed a law, effective Jan. 1, 1925, which called for stricter control over stock transfers in Chile. Reports of all such transactions must give the serial number of the shares dealt in and term transactions must be guaranteed by a

deposit equal to 15 per cent. of the total value transferred. Speculation in foreign currency drafts which affect Chilean exchange were made subject to the new control.

Ecuador

THE Government control of foreign exchange in Ecuador was abandoned on Oct. 22. Exchange was quoted on Oct. 31 at 5.20 sucres to the dollar. Bankers and exporters attempted to fix the rate of exchange at 5 sucres to the dollar up to Nov. 10; it was then reduced to 4.50. Exporters made every possible effort to prevent further depreciation of the sucre, fearing that the Government would again establish exchange control and requisition all export drafts. As a result of the relinquishment of control export products increased both in volume and price. Prices on imported goods rose slightly and the general commercial situation was uncertain owing to the necessity of adjustment to free exchange trading.

Peru

IN accordance with an announcement made by President Coolidge on Nov. 17, General John J. Pershing headed the American delegation which attended the celebration on Dec. 9 of the centenary of the Battle of Ayacucho in Peru. General Pershing held the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Other members of the mission were Rear Admiral John H. Dayton and Frederick C. Hicks, former members of Congress, both of whom ranked as Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary. The Battle of Ayacucho on Dec. 9, 1824, was the last battle of the War of Independence between Spain and her colonies in South America. It resulted in a victory for the patriot forces under General Sucre and ended the dominion of Spain in that continent. Ceremonies in honor of the centenary took place both at Ayacucho and in Lima.

General Pershing, in an address at Lima, said:

We represent a nation which from the first

understood and sympathized with the heroic efforts of our Southern neighbors and welcomed them into the fraternity which strongly unites the free and independent republics of America. We look forward eagerly to every opportunity to strengthen this common bond of friendship, this common heritage and fundamental tranquility.

The American Mission reached Peru Dec. 6 on the United States battleship *Utah*. Leaving Peru Dec. 20, the representatives of the United States started home via the east coast. They were scheduled to stop at ports of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil on the return trip. Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union in Washington, attended the Peruvian centenary as delegate of the body which he heads. He was also Chairman of the delegation of the United States attending the Third Pan-American Scientific Congress, which assembled in Lima on Dec. 20.

Belated news of an unsuccessful revolutionary disturbance in Northern Peru was announced on Dec. 3 in the official newspaper, *La Prensa*, of Lima. The insurrection broke out in the town of Chota on Nov. 20, when peasants from the Andes captured the town. Government forces after two days of fighting on Nov. 27 and 28 recaptured Chota and suppressed the movement. The two leaders, Colonel Samuel Alcazar and Lieutenant Parreda, were court-martialed and shot in the public square of Chota.

Venezuela

GENERAL CIPRIANO CASTRO, President of Venezuela from 1899 to 1908, died Dec. 4 in San Juan, Porto Rico. General Castro, known in the days of his Venezuelan Dictatorship as "The Lion of the Andes" or the "Stormy Petrel," was 66 years old and had been

an exile for sixteen years. The important period of Castro's life began when, in 1899, at the head of a successful revolution, he drove out President Andrade and took possession of the Venezuelan capital on Oct. 24. From then on until the coup by which he was unseated, in 1908, he held full sway in Venezuela. His persistently belligerent disposition gave him not only his sobriquets, but also many occasions for dispute at home and abroad. Besides contending with revolutionary movements at home he had to face the combined hostile action by sea of Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy in 1902 for the purpose of compelling Venezuela to fulfill her debt obligations to those powers.

The Government of Venezuela recently granted exclusive rights to a licensed Venezuelan to import, lease and set up radio receiving equipment for use within the national borders. The installation of such equipment had previously not been permitted.

Uruguay

THE Government of Uruguay ordered an investigation of a shooting affray between Uruguayan and Brazilian troops on Dec. 10 at the frontier of the two countries, near the Uruguayan town of Rivera. It was stated that fifteen Brazilian mounted regulars fired on four cavalymen of the Fifth Uruguayan Cavalry, wounding two, one Uruguayan soldier and one Uruguayan civilian. The Uruguayans had been patrolling the border to prevent the entry of Brazilian revolutionists engaged in the revolt in Rio Grande do Sol. According to the authorities, the Uruguayans returned the fire, killing one Brazilian soldier and wounding two. The news of the affray caused much excitement in Montevideo.

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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Great Britain

THE major policies of the new British Government, formally proclaimed in the declarations of Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, at the Guildhall banquet on Nov. 10 and in the King's speech at the opening of Parliament on Dec. 9, included "stability and continuity" as the chief object of treaties; support of the League of Nations; a refusal to ratify the MacDonald foreign policy; faithfulness to the peace treaties with Soviet Russia but a continuance of "normal intercourse" between the two countries; firm support for the Government of India in dealing with crimes of violence "by whomsoever or from whatsoever motive they are committed," coupled with assistance to India in "peaceful progress in the paths of economic and constitutional progress"; carrying through the project of creating a great naval base at Singapore; a solution of the housing problem as a "first necessity"; abstention from governmental control over industry and the prevention of "others from obtaining that control"; the closest political and economic cooperation between all of the parts of the Empire, including the adoption of a scheme of imperial preference.

Among ministerial appointments to positions of less than Cabinet rank, that of the Duchess of Athol as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education attracted the most attention.

Of the two parties (Liberal and Labor) which were defeated at the general election, the Liberals were most active in seeking to realign their forces and strengthen their organization. Mr. Asquith having lost his seat, Mr. Lloyd George was elected Sessional Chairman of the Liberal Members of Parliament. Mr. Asquith however, remained the

leader of the party. Numerous meetings of the party chiefs were held in London and Manchester; the 112 Liberal members who were defeated at the election formed an organization under the leadership of William M. Pringle, and a Liberal reorganization committee was set up for the purpose of examining the whole party organization.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, better known for many years as Lord Robert Cecil, and the foremost British advocate of the League of Nations, was unanimously awarded the first annual prize of \$25,000 offered by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation for "meritorious service of a public character tending to the establishment of peace through justice."

The validity of British passports was extended from two to five years, when they may be renewed for another five years.

The weekly rate of increase of unemployment continued to be about 20,000. At the last report 1,212,000 men were without work. At the same time food prices rose, the index figure approaching 80 per cent. above the 1914 prices, as compared with 63 per cent. in July, 1924.

The United Grand Lodge of England, embracing more than 4,000 Masonic lodges throughout the British Empire, continued the work of raising £1,000,000 to build in London a central home for British Masonry as a memorial to Freemasons of the empire who fell in the World War.

The Government summoned a conference representing landowners, farmers and agricultural workers to discuss plans for increasing the arable cultivation of the United Kingdom by 10,000,000 acres, or 10 per cent., and for

otherwise encouraging agriculture. It was also announced that legislation would be laid before Parliament providing for a ten-year subsidy for the sugar beet industry.

A national convention meeting in Glasgow recently adopted resolutions supporting the Scottish Home Rule movement.

Ireland

AT meetings of the Ulster Boundary Commission the Irish Free State submitted a statement with regard to Article XII. of the articles of agreement under which the commission was constituted. The Government of Northern Ireland declined to submit any statement to the commission or to appear before it by counsel or otherwise.

Peter Hughes, member of the Dail Eireann from County Louth, was appointed Minister of Defense of the Irish Free State. William T. Cosgrave, President of the Cabinet, who filled the position temporarily, left for the south of France to recuperate from a recent illness.

Out of five strenuous by-elections the Government candidates won three and the Republicans two.

Thin and worn after a month's solitary confinement in the Belfast jail, Eamon de Valera returned to Dublin and resumed his activities in behalf of the republic.

Canada

INTEREST developed throughout Canada, and especially in the Western provinces, in the proposal of the Dominion Government to seek a reduction of the power of the Canadian Senate during the coming session of Parliament. Just before prorogation last July the Prime Minister, W. L. Mackenzie King, stated that he desired "to assure the House that when Parliament re-assembles steps will be taken by the Government to obtain, if possible, means whereby bills may be enacted by and with the advice and consent of the House of Commons under conditions similar in principle to those which have

been sanctioned for the Parliament of the United Kingdom." As at present constituted the Canadian Senate consists of ninety-six members appointed for life by the Crown upon recommendation of the Dominion Government. The growing Western provinces feel that they are under-represented and resent the power of a body which they characterize as being out of accord with the spirit of popular and representative government.

The United Farmers' Party of Ontario decided to reorganize under the name of Progressives, and with Mr. Drury, former Premier of the Province, and Mr. Doherty, former Minister of Agriculture, as leaders. The convention of the Ontario Conservative Association went on record as strongly approving the strict enforcement of the Ontario Temperance act, which was recently continued by a narrow majority in a provincial plebiscite.

The first Indian ever to sit in the Quebec Legislature was recently chosen at a by-election to represent Quebec County. The new legislator, Ludger Bastien, is the son of a former Chief of all the Hurons in Canada. Out of five by-elections in Quebec Province the Taschereau Government carried three seats and the Conservative opposition two.

Estimates published by the Bureau of Statistics indicated that the population of the Dominion was 9,226,740, an increase of nearly half a million since the census of 1921. A portion of the Canadian press doubted the accuracy of the estimates because insufficient account had been taken of the increase in emigration and the decrease in immigration during the last few years.

Immigration officials expected that approximately 1,000 families would come to Canada from Great Britain in the Spring of 1925 under the terms of the immigration agreement between the Canadian and the Imperial Governments.

J. A. M. Elder, Australian Commissioner in the United States, made a tour of Canada in the interests of Canadian-

Australian trade. During the past year Canada sold Australia goods valued at about \$14,700,000, but imported only \$1,200,000 worth of Australian products.

An important development in Canadian labor relations was the adoption by the Canadian National Railways of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway's system of shop councils constituted by representatives of the employes and the management.

Plans were perfected for the erection near Montreal of the first Canadian unit of the Empire chain of wireless stations. It was to be operated by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of Canada, Ltd.

A historic event in Canadian history was commemorated Nov. 29, 1924, when a cairn was unveiled at Allanburg, Ontario, on the spot where just 100 years previously William Hamilton Merritt turned the first sod for the first Welland Canal.

The gradual northward extension of Canadian settlement was reflected in a boundary dispute between Quebec and Newfoundland. Newfoundland contended that its dominion extended into all the bays and fiords of Labrador to the end of tidewater, which claim Quebec disputed. The increasing value of the mineral and timber rights involved led to the reference of the controversy to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, the final Imperial authority in such matters.

The attitude of western Canada toward its Oriental residents was recently expressed in striking fashion in British Columbia. Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith, a supporter of the Government, introduced a bill into the Legislature of the Province to prohibit the employment of white girls and Orientals as domestic servants in the same homes. The Attorney General of the Province at the same time requested employers to relieve unemployment by giving jobs to white men instead of Asiatics.

By rigid economies on the part of the Government the annual budget of British Columbia was reduced a little

more than \$1,000,000 below the expenditures of the previous year.

Australia and New Zealand

DESPATCHES from Australia and New Zealand indicated that in the field of national and imperial politics the two Dominions of the Antipodes were most actively interested in the problems of national defense and imperial trade preference. During the past month the Prime Ministers of both countries advocated increases in the defense establishments, and their recommendations seemed to be received with general approval. In Australia, due largely to the activities of Sir Keith Smith, backed by a sympathetic press, attention was centred in the development of a national air service. In New Zealand the naval resources of the Dominion received especial consideration on account of the activity of the Dominion Navy Leagues. Announcement was made that the manufacture of Australian 18-pound field guns would be undertaken at the Lithgow Arms Factory in the near future.

Prime Minister Stanley Bruce of Australia expressed confidence that under the present Conservative Government in England the Singapore naval base project would be carried through, and that steps would be taken to give effect to the recommendations of the Imperial Conference that some measure of tariff preference be adopted within the empire. He also declared that Australia was much gratified that the British Government had promised to examine the Geneva Protocol in consultation with the Dominions before taking action thereon. In New Zealand, Prime Minister Massey declared emphatically in public addresses that empire unity had always been in the forefront of the New Zealand Government's policy, and insisted that all political and official policy should be based upon the need of maintaining the empire as a homogeneous association of self-governing dominions under British sovereignty.

In Australia the most important local

political event of the period under review was the resignation of the Labor Government in Victoria. On Nov. 13 a vote of no confidence was carried against Premier Prendergast's Ministry. After the Governor of the State, the Earl of Stradbroke, refused Mr. Prendergast's request to dissolve Parliament, the Minister resigned. Six days later a Coalition Ministry consisting of six Nationalists and six members of the Country Party was formed under the Premiership of John Allen, leader of the Country Party. The Labor Government was bound to fall as soon as the Nationalists and the Country Party agreed to turn it out.

A 50,000,000-bushel wheat crop and an unusually heavy wool clip led Sir Arthur Cocks, Treasurer of New South Wales, to introduce his annual budget with predictions of an exceptionally prosperous year for that State. The budget estimated receipts at £38,014,462 and expenditures at about £8,000 less. A sum of £4,200,000 was set aside for public education in 1924-1925, as compared with £1,690,000 in 1913-1914.

An agreement was signed by the Commonwealth and the South Australian Governments, subject to parliamentary approval on both sides, for the construction of the Oodnadatta-Alice Springs section of the North-South transcontinental railway.

Dock operations in Sydney and Melbourne were seriously hindered during the month by a strike inaugurated by the Waterside Workers' Federation in protest against overtime work. At the same time the Stewards' Union attempted to tie up the ships of the Commonwealth Line because forty-seven stewards on one of the Government-owned ships were discharged for refusing to attend to two passengers who became insane.

Important modifications in the preferential tariff upon British goods imported into Australia and New Zealand were recently announced. The new regulations provided that products coming from the United Kingdom to either the Commonwealth or the Dominion

should be admitted under the preference only if 75 per cent. of the cost were represented by British labor or material. Previously only 25 per cent. of the cost had to be of British origin.

The Australian Labor Conference rejected a resolution in favor of a capital levy.

A two-way beam system of wireless communication between Australia and England was successfully inaugurated.

The Mangahao Hydroelectric Works, the first link of a chain of water power stations to supply power to the North Island of New Zealand, was recently opened by Prime Minister Massey.

Preparations were begun for the New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition to be held at Dunedin, New Zealand, late in 1925.

South Africa

AN event of some importance in the constitutional development of the British Empire was the visit of British Empire Parliamentary delegates to South Africa during September, October and early November. Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada each was represented by a distinguished group of legislators, J. H. Thomas, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, heading the British delegation. At formal meetings and during an extensive journey throughout the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia and some of the native territories the delegates were enabled to exchange views and acquire information concerning the problems of the empire and its component parts. The delegates unanimously recommended that similar conferences should be held in the British Dominions in rotation at least once every two years.

Mr. Roos, Minister of Justice in the Hertzog Cabinet, created a sensation by publicly declaring that Provincial Administrators, the Public Service Commission, the Land Boards and the Railway Board should have resigned when the Nationalist-Labor Government took office. Since the Prime Minister had recognized these offices as non-political,

the South African press saw in Mr. Roos's pronunciamientos evidence of Cabinet dissension and the possibility of another general election.

The conference of the Transvaal Labor Party in the Transvaal adopted resolutions advocating provincial autonomy as a step toward the establishment of a federal system of government, and authorizing a campaign in favor of a state bank.

The great disparity between the rate of increase of the native and the white populations of South Africa as revealed in the recent census report continued to be a major subject of serious discussion in the Union. General Hertzog and other members of his Government advocated segregation of the black population as one remedy. Other leaders favored more active efforts to stimulate immigration of a carefully selected type from Great Britain and elsewhere. To further this purpose the Union Government and the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association launched a drive throughout the English-speaking world for properly qualified farmer immigrants. Jewish news agencies reported a marked increase in the immigration of Jews to South Africa.

In a speech delivered at Windhoek, Southwest Africa, General Hertzog, Prime Minister of the Union, which holds the mandate for this former German colony, foreshadowed the creation of a Legislature for Southwest Africa. He declared, however, that the control of the natives, in its more fundamental aspects, as well as of railways and customs service must remain in the hands of the Government of the Union.

The Government was reported to be negotiating with German steel producers for the establishment of the steel industry on a large scale in the vicinity of Pretoria, to supply the South African demand which already amounted to about \$45,000,000 worth of iron and steel products annually.

One of the largest and best equipped graving docks in the world has almost been completed at Durban, Natal. Its length is 1,150 feet, breadth at the en-

trance 110 feet and the depth of water on the sill 41 feet.

In Rhodesia the experimental planting of cotton last season produced such good results that it was decided during the coming year to put 62,000 acres under cultivation. It was stated that the South African cotton was suitable for use in the Lancashire mills and that it reached Liverpool at an all-in-cost of sixpence (about 12 cents) per pound, compared with one shilling (nearly 25 cents), the cost of landing American cotton.

Amendments to the constitution of the Anglican Church in South Africa recently adopted by the Provincial Synod made women eligible as church wardens and sidesmen and granted them the right to vote for representatives to the Elective Assembly and the Diocesan Synod.

Sierra Leone

THREE unofficial members of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone were elected by popular vote for the first time in the history of that colony. The Legislative Council thus became constituted by the Governor, as President, with eleven official members, three elected unofficial members, and not more than seven nominated unofficial members, of whom three must be Paramount Chiefs of the Protectorate.

India

I AM not a lunatic; I am a reasonable man. I am losing ground gradually, and would have no hesitation in bending before the Swarajists and the Liberals. If necessary I shall bend before the Englishmen also, if only they show a change of heart." The speaker was Mohandis K. Gandhi and the occasion a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in which the non-cooperationist leader entered into a pact with C. R. Das and Pundit Motilal Nehru for the purpose of encouraging cooperation among all Indian parties. The sentiment revealed an opportunism equal to that of a Lloyd George, and made evident the waning power of the

Mahatma who three years previously held native India in the hollow of his hand.

The arrest in Calcutta of numerous associates of C. R. Das upon suspicion that they were plotting anarchical crimes was followed by excited extremist condemnation of the Government and the special ordinance under which the arrests were made. Resolutions urging the immediate withdrawal of the ordinance were passed by a conference of Indian party leaders held at Bombay for the purpose of advancing the unity aimed at by the Das-Gandhi pact. The British Indian press, however, declared that events clearly showed that a dangerous anarchical movement had made a good deal of headway in Bengal and elsewhere. Action taken under the ordinance was said to have destroyed this conspiracy. The Earl of Reading, the Viceroy, informed the Indian Association, Calcutta, that he was convinced, after mature reflection and on the amplest evidence, that to deal with crime, criminals and methods of so exceptional a character exceptional measures were necessary, and these had been so devised as to be applicable solely to such cases. The implication was that the special powers accorded to the authorities by the ordinance were not being used, as was alleged by Mr. Das and his adherents, to crush the Swaraj movement or to punish the political opponents of the Government. In the midst of this political wilderness was heard the voice of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru crying to his people that the outstanding feature of the situation was that India was hopelessly divided by internal dissensions and quarrels, and that Indians could hope for no grant of further constitutional liberty until they put their own house in order.

Announcement was made in London that legislation was contemplated to amend the Indian Constitution so as to give effect to some of the recommendations of the Lee commission, which recently investigated the Government services in India. The report of the commission was essentially a compro-

mise. It recommended enhanced pay and pensions for Englishmen in the Indian service commensurate with recent increases of living costs in India, but did not meet in full the demands of this element. On the other hand, while providing for a considerable increase in the proportion of Indians in the Indian civil service and police force, it did not go so far in this direction as the Indians demanded that it should. It was calculated that if the proposed bill adopted the Lee proposals it would raise the number of posts in the Indian civil service actually held by Indians to 50 per cent. within fifteen years. (By way of comparison, it might be remarked that more than 96 per cent. of all of the officials and employes of the Government in the Philippines are Filipinos.

India continued to import gold from London. Bankers regarded the fact as an indication of the general prosperity of the country, declaring that most of the metal would be hoarded by natives who had more faith in gold than in paper money.

Of four Buddhist monks charged with assaulting Professor and Mrs. Paul Gleason, American missionaries, at Rangoon, Burma, one was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, three others to five years rigorous imprisonment and one was acquitted.

British West Indies

THE new Governor of Jamaica, Sir Samuel Wilson, opened a special session of the Legislative Council on Nov. 18. He stated that the revenue of the colony had been seriously reduced during the year and that a deficit was anticipated. He also announced his decision to appoint a Development Committee, with himself as chairman, to consider measures for the improvement of conditions, and requested the Council to appoint a representative at the British Legation in Havana to safeguard the interests of Jamaicans who worked on Cuban estates.

The British All-Red cable service between the British West Indies and London was inaugurated on Dec. 1.

France and Belgium

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By a majority of 176 to 104 the French Senate on Nov. 18 passed the long-expected bill granting amnesty to former Premier Joseph Caillaux, who had been convicted during the war, on charges of "defeatist" propaganda which "fell little short of treason." During the debate Premier Herriot appealed to the Senate, now that the conflict was over, to "forgive those differences of opinion which were considered dangerous during the war." There was less opposition to the amnesty granted at the same time to M. Caillaux's associate, M. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior. As Senator Hervey observed bitterly: "M. Malvy had at least this quality, that when he was in office he did not enrich himself." That the doings of M. Caillaux are not likely to be plunged in oblivion is indicated by the comments of the Paris press. It was generally assumed that the ex-Premier would soon become active again in politics. "Forget the past, yes!" declared the Paris Temps. "But is M. Caillaux of the kind that lets himself be forgotten?"

The Herriot Ministry continued its hold upon the Government, being usually sustained by fair majorities in the Chamber on every issue of "confidence." It had, however, on Nov. 28, a narrow escape; only by a vote of 299 to 246 did the Cabinet avoid defeat upon the question whether to extend the inquiry by a special commission into the funds used in the elections of 1924 to the elections of 1923. The real point at issue was over the charges that M. Raynaldy, Minister of Commerce in the Herriot Government, had accepted 10,000 francs in November, 1923, from the electoral organization of the Right (Conservative) parties and then had campaigned in 1924 for the Left (Radical) parties, and become a

Left Minister. Premier Herriot asserted that he could not take any cognizance of what his colleagues had done prior to joining his Cabinet. The session broke up with a large group of the Deputies shouting, "Give back the money!"

Leonid Krassin, the first Soviet Ambassador to France, arrived in Paris on Dec. 4. Elaborate demonstrations were staged in his honor by thousands of Paris Communists. M. Krassin was received by Premier Herriot on Dec. 6. After his arrival events occurred in France which led the critics of the Government to declare that the unwisdom of recognizing Soviet Russia had already been demonstrated. It was announced on Dec. 6 that the French police had uncovered an elaborate scheme for a Communist uprising, scheduled to occur only a week later. Soldiers in the industrial districts were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to crush any subversive movement and widespread raids were conducted in Paris and its vicinity against "Red" agitators. It was announced the nearly 1,000 Communists had been jailed, and that about sixty alien agitators, including Belgians, Swiss, Italians and other nationalities, were being deported. It was stated that a Communist "call to arms" had been discovered and that seized documents contained the following incriminating phrases: "A signal will be given at the hour agreed upon through channels you know. All will be ready in the various sections [of Paris] and the necessary material will be at your disposal."

As an earnest of the Government's intention to deal drastically with any uprising, M. Le Flanchec, Radical Mayor of the commune of Douarnenez in Finistère, was suspended from his official duties for his attitude in the sardine

strike, which was engineered by Communists. Troops were sent to this department on Dec. 6 to preserve order. In the Chamber on Dec. 6 M. Herriot announced that he did not believe that it was possible for any Communist uprising to succeed, but that any revolutionary attempts would simply play into the hands of the Clericals and reactionaries. All forms of violence, he declared, would be dealt with sternly, and as for outsiders, "Foreign Communists must be warned that we are determined not to let them in to mix themselves in our political life. If there is resistance it will be broken." The arrests continued (Dec. 8), but in diminished numbers. M. Krassin, the new Soviet Ambassador, disclaimed all knowledge of the conspiracy and denied that any Russians had taken part therein. His assertion, in view of the Zinoviev letter and the evidence of Russian participation in the recent Estonian uprising, was received with incredulity by many Paris newspapers.

Almost at the same moment when M. Krassin, the Soviet envoy, arrived in Paris (Dec. 4) Captain Jacques Sadoul, notorious since his desertion from a French military mission to Russia while in service in the Black Sea in 1919, was arrested by the French police. Sadoul, who had been living in exile in Russia and Germany since his conviction in France on the charge of treason—a verdict given in his absence—crossed the border from Germany on a false passport. After his arrest he declared that he had returned to France determined to face a new trial. The Communists on Dec. 4 in the Chamber endeavored to force Premier Herriot to commit himself to a statement of policy regarding Sadoul, but failed in this, the Premier merely stating that Sadoul was entitled to a new trial as he had been condemned in absentia.

Premier Herriot in the Chamber on Dec. 9 took a definite stand on his anti-Communist policy after encountering a hostile reception by the Communists at Roubaix on the day before. He defined the danger to the State and charged that

much of the existing crisis had been worked up for political reasons. He repeated former declarations that the Government would suppress this subversive movement ruthlessly. His speech was followed by violent disorder, in which the Royalists and the Communists came to blows. The Rights, Radicals and Socialists finally united in a vote of confidence, which stood as follows: 319 to 29, all the latter cast by Communists.

The Communist troubles were complicated by mass protests against the Government's anti-ecclesiastical policy. A great demonstration of protest took place at Quimper, Brittany, on Dec. 7. Tens of thousands of devout Bretons, clad in their picturesque traditional costumes, assembled in this Breton town and marched silently in solemn procession through the streets. Subsequently they listened to sermons by Bishop Duparc and other churchmen. Squads of mounted gendarmes paraded the streets to preserve order and surrounded the cathedral. The Bishop told his auditors that "when human law is in contradiction with divine law, it is to the divine law that we owe obedience." Anti-clerical demonstrators held a rival parade in adjoining streets, but the police prevented a conflict between the two factions.

In the illness of Premier Herriot, due to an attack of phlebitis—an illness which caused the Government leaders considerable anxiety—M. Paul Painlevé, former Premier and now President of the French Chamber, on Dec. 14 took the Premier's place at Belfort, where M. Herriot had been invited to address a large political gathering. M. Painlevé defended the Government from charges of neglect of national defense and further denied that the Left Party had so sympathized with defeatist propaganda during the war that it would have been willing to sign peace on terms that would have meant defeat and shame to France. No member of the party, he declared, would ever have consented to a peace which did not restore liberty to Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine to France.

The great influx of foreign workers, who numbered only 528,000 in 1913 and who now total no less than 1,396,000, creating a real social and economic problem in many sections of France, led to the issuance of a governmental decree for the control of aliens. Hereafter every alien who is to reside in France for more than fifteen days must, within forty-eight hours after arrival, present himself at the police station or town hall of the district in which he lives and make application for a card of identity. Four photographs must be filed, as well as complete data as to birth, nationality and so forth. Aliens must also give the names of two French citizens who will vouch for them. Tourists who are merely spending a few days in France will not be bothered by these regulations.

M. Renoult, Minister of Justice, introduced in the Chamber of Deputies a bill to stop official cognizance of titles of nobility. Although France has long been a republic, the absurd survivals of "dukes," "counts," "barons" and so forth have not merely been recognized but legally supported. It has been a crime by law to assume a spurious title, and a misdemeanor even to place the "de," indicating origin from a noble family, before one's name without warrant. Henceforth, according to the new bill, the registering of titles at the Chancellery of the Ministry of Justice will cease, and no titles can be used in any public acts. Thus will disappear still another outworn survival of the famous old régime.

General Nollet, Minister of War, at length presented the plans for a drastic reorganization of the French Army upon a strictly peace basis, yet without such complete disarmament as would tend to encourage ambitious hopes of "revenge" in Germany. Before 1914 the French Army reckoned about 770,000 men on a three-year basis of service. After the war the eighteen months' service term was introduced and the army sank to about 421,000 white troops, plus some 189,000 colored troops, of whom only about 65,500 are

stationed in Europe. The new plan was to place the army on a twelve-month basis of service, which would give a yearly white contingent of only about 250,000. This would afford a standing army considered to be dangerously small, though this would be offset by training of the whole man-power of the nation and holding it ready for instant mobilization in case of emergency. The number of divisions, it was provided, would have to be reduced from thirty-two to only twenty-two or possibly twenty-three. As for the utilization of colored troops, French officers declared that it was impossible to use them for any of the great technical services which modern warfare absolutely demands and that only a modest proportion of them could be utilized in any future European struggle.

Jean Jaurès, the distinguished leader of the French Socialists, who was assassinated on the eve of the outbreak of the World War in 1914, was honored with a State burial in the national Panthéon at Paris on Nov. 23. The two extreme political elements, the Royalists, on the one hand, and the Bolsheviks and anarchists on the other, indulged in harmless demonstrations of protest, but 30,000 Socialists and 20,000 Communists made up the major part of the vast crowd which thronged around the official procession. For many years Jaurès had represented the miners' interests in the Chamber of Deputies, and the catafalque was followed by miners in working costume carrying lamps in an oration delivered at the Panthéon Premier Herriot praised Jaurès as having been, above all things, "a great republican," who, whatever his doctrines and opinions, "always remained within the bounds of republican institutions," and who, whatever his dreams of the universal brotherhood of the workers, "ever remained first and foremost a great patriot."

The Paris Oeuvre, chief organ of the Herriot Government, precipitated a lively controversy by publishing part of the secret diary of Georges Louis,

former Ambassador of France to Imperial Russia, in which ex-President Poincaré was accused of having been partly responsible for precipitating the World War, especially by putting pressure upon Russia to adopt a very stiff anti-German attitude just before the crisis of 1914. Louis was represented as charging that Poincaré was acting deliberately with the Russian Foreign Minister Izvolsky in order to create a situation playing directly into the hands of the Berlin militarists. It was immediately pointed out that M. Louis had been dismissed from his Ambassadorship in 1913 at the instigation of M. Poincaré. The latter at once made categorical denials of the matters of most importance and this was followed by equally specific denials by M. Jules Cambon, M. Daeshner, M. Paléologue and other diplomats able to speak with authority.

Despite the efforts at budget economy, the Finance Committee of the Chamber approved the increase of 11,500,000 francs in the Government grant for commercial air services. It was expected to increase considerably the regular air service between Toulouse and Casablanca and probably to open other airways to Africa.

The investors of the United States on Nov. 28 gave very solid testimony to their confidence in the future prosperity of the Third Republic by subscribing several times over to a French Government bond issue of \$100,000,000. The loan was for twenty-five years at 7 per cent., and was floated in this country at 94; substantially the same terms as for the great loan to Germany under the Dawes plan, but without the humiliating forms of security which had to be offered east of the Rhine.

The final steps for the loan were put through by the Chamber and Senate with amazing celerity. The \$100,000,000 involved will take the place of the "Morgan credit," which was extended last March for the purpose of upholding the franc; in addition it will permit the French Government to repay heavy advances from the Bank of France. The completion of the loan

was followed by a rise in the exchange value of the franc, an advance, however, which proved to be temporary.

The financial editor of *Le Journal*, the well-known Parisian paper, summed up the French viewpoint as follows:

The new operation shows not only the undeniable good-will of our American friends toward France, but a very genuine improvement in our country's credit. Foreigners have come to realize that the French Government in all departments is pursuing a really coherent comprehensive policy of financial consolidation and monetary hygiene. This policy will in a short time lead us to a period of better exchange rates, lower living and restored State finances.

Following this great public loan the French National Mail Steamship Company floated a loan for \$10,000,000 at 7 per cent. interest in the New York market. It was reported that other French loans would be speedily placed in America.

Washington reported early in December that conversations were taking place between Secretary of the Treasury Mellon and the retiring French Ambassador, M. Jusserand, relative to the payment of the French war debt to America. It was said that France desired a material scaling down of the rate of interest and the postponement of any payments on either principal or interest for several years.

Belgium

DURING November there were vigorous debates in the Chamber upon all important questions of war indemnity and national security. The most significant speech was that made on Nov. 13 by M. Jaspar, former Minister of Foreign Affairs. Until the problem of the interallied debts was cleared up, he declared, it was impossible to tell how Belgium would stand in the matter of indemnity. From Germany Belgium had received some 1,800,000,000 gold marks, leaving about 2,700,000,000 still lawfully due, but what would actually be paid under the Dawes plan it was impossible to say precisely. For the sake of peace Belgium was prepared to

make great financial sacrifices, but "the sacrifice she has already made is so great that it is not possible that our allies should put the future burden wholly upon our country."

As for security, the great aim of Belgian policy was to get military guarantees from Britain as well as from France. M. Jaspar believed that the new Conservative Ministry in Britain would take a very friendly attitude toward the Belgian case. Premier Theunis informed the Chamber that the Dawes plan was the best possible arrangement under the circumstances and that within two months Belgium would receive back from Germany in deliveries in kind the entire value of the 67,000,000 francs which she had advanced her former enemies as her share in the great Dawes loan.

The extent of the economic recovery of Belgium was indicated by the fact that the average monthly output of iron for the first half of 1924 was 228,000 tons, against 207,000 in 1913, and of steel for the entire period of six months was 424,576 tons in 1924 and only 355,320 in 1913. How great had been the task of reconstruction (now practically finished) was indicated in a recent

speech of M. Moyersoen, Minister of Economic Affairs, who gave out the following figures: 1,175 public edifices (schools, churches, and so forth) had been destroyed in the war; of these 1,046 had been rebuilt and 135 were in process of rebuilding. Nearly 100,000 private houses had been destroyed: of these the Government had rebuilt 33,075 and private initiative over 60,000. Of the roads which had been ruined in the war, fully 1,967 kilometers had been completely reconstructed. No small part of the strain upon the Government, he added, came from the enormous number of lawsuits, claim hearings, and so forth, which followed the retreat of the Germans. The Belgian courts had had to attend to no less than 239,000 war "processes," with some 11,500 still awaiting adjudication.

The cornerstone of the new buildings of the University of Brussels was on Nov. 10 laid with imposing ceremonies in the presence of the Duke of Brabant. The erection of the new premises was made possible by the financial aid given by the Commission For Relief in Belgium and the Educational Foundation, as a result of the good offices of Herbert Hoover.

Germany and Austria

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD

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THE Reichstag elections on Dec 7, in which the Socialists made notable gains, and the resignation of Chancellor Marx with his Cabinet on Dec. 11, were the foremost events in Germany during the month. The elections, though they strengthened the Socialist position, failed to give any group a clear majority in the Reichstag. In efforts to effect a coalition, Chancellor Marx invited Socialist participation in the Government. Foreign Minister Stresemann, leader of the People's Par-

ty, declined to serve in the same Cabinet with Socialists. Declaring that Herr Stresemann's action left him with the option of admitting Nationalists to the Cabinet or resigning, Chancellor Marx took the latter course and notified President Ebert of the decision. The President accepted the Chancellor's resignation, but asked that he retain office pending several administrative conferences, to which request Herr Marx acceded. The Chancellor later explained that he could not assume responsibility

for a Cabinet that included Nationalists. The two coalition plans which had been considered prior to the Chancellor's resignation were first, a "Burgher Bloc," made up of the Centrists, Democrats, German People's Party and German National Party, which, independent of the support of the conservative minor groups, would command an absolute, if small, majority in the legislature, and second, the alternative of a union of all groups that uphold the Dawes plan. This latter combination, known as the "Great Coalition," would have comprised the Social Democrats, numerically the largest, and excluded the German National Party, the next largest, even if the Social Democrats might eye with suspicion the dubious republicanism of the German People's Party under the leadership of Dr. Stresemann, and its supposed affiliations with big business.

Final returns of the elections were as follows:

Social Democrats.....	129
Centrists	67
Democrats	31
German People's Party.....	50
German National Party.....	104
National-Socialistic Freedom (Völkische) Party	14
Bavarian People's Party.....	19
Economic Party.....	10
Farmers' Party.....	4
Hanoverians	4
Communists	44
Other parties.....	8

Comparison with the actual figures of the elections of last May shows that among the major parties the Social Democrats gained twenty-nine seats, the Centrists five, the Democrats six, the German People's Party also six and the German National Party eight, whereas the Communists lost eighteen. In the case of the minor organizations, the Bavarian People's Party won three places and the National-Socialistic Freedom (Völkische) Party lost eighteen. On the face of the returns, accordingly, the two sets of noisy extremists had their representation in the Reichstag cut down quite materially.

In essence, the issues in both cam-

paigns were alike: fulfillment of the Dawes plan and maintenance of the republican form of government. Practically, the former constituted by far the more important factor; sentimentally, the latter played a fairly conspicuous rôle. The parties pledged to carrying out the scheme for the payment of reparations secured additional mandates. That the Nationalists also increased their strength somewhat appeared to possess no especial significance, in view of the fact that many of their number in the preceding Reichstag had voted to accept the Dawes plan.

Apart from the chromatic types of argument vigorously flaunted in flags of black, red and gold by the Republicans, and of black, white and red by the Monarchists, the spectacular features of the campaign itself were discoverable in the vociferous prophecies of the ultra-Nationalists and the Communists over the horrors certain to befall the country were their particular candidates not chosen for office, and in the ferocious quarrels that rent the respective ranks of these parties. Sensational indeed was the denunciation by the National-Socialistic Freedom (Völkische) Party of "The Three Versailles," viz., the Versailles Treaty, the Dawes plan and the "Concern at Geneva, run by Jewish-capitalistic internationalism and dubbed the 'League of Nations'"! Other items of interest in the pre-election struggle were: a prohibition by the Minister of the Interior of broadcasting speeches by wireless, on the ground that the radio ought to be "reserved for the higher things in life and not sullied by political strife"; a complaint from the German Federation of Women's Clubs, addressed to the headquarters of the several parties, against the growing tendency to ignore women in the nomination of candidates, and the eagerness with which all parties vied with one another in the employment of the vote-catching device of promises to revalue anew Government securities and private debts depreciated by the inflation of the mark.

In the realm of foreign affairs the outstanding incident was the condemna-

tion by a French Military Court of an aged German officer who had ventured to enter Alsace with the object of visiting the grave of his fallen son. On questionable evidence he was charged with having appropriated private property to his own use during the war. A pardon, promptly ordered by Premier Herriot, brought an irritating issue to a close. Another incident developed, following an attack by the populace of Ingoldstadt upon members of the Inter-allied Military Control Commission. An apology for the attack was tendered forthwith by the Bavarian Government.

Among the events associated with the process of evacuating the Ruhr and the Rhineland were: The abolition on Oct. 28 of the M. I. C. U. M. (Mission Interalliée de Contrôle d'Usines et Mines—Franco-Belgian Mission for the Control of Factories and Mines), and the adoption of a new arrangement for the delivery of German coal; the turning over on Nov. 15 of the railways; and the issue by the French military authorities of new ordinances, replacing those withdrawn under the terms of the London Agreement and limiting German judicial powers, aviation, political societies and meetings, traffic, customs and the regulation of prices. General of Division M. A. L. Guillaumat, new Commander-in-Chief of the French Army on the Rhine, took formal possession of his headquarters at Mainz on Nov. 25. On Dec. 1 the *Echo du Rhin*, a French journal that has supported the "mailed fist" policies of former Premier Poincaré, ceased publication. Further evidences of Franco-German accord were: The abandonment by Germany, in the negotiations with France over a commercial treaty, of its effort to have associated with these proceedings the levying of the recovery tax of 26 per cent.; the celebration of a football game between French and German players at Strasbourg, and an invitation from the French Government for Germany to participate in a forthcoming international exhibition of decorative arts. During the first three months of the administration of the

Agent General, in fulfillment of the Dawes plan, Germany paid in cash and in kind 225,000,000 gold marks.

Receipts of the Government continued to exceed expenditure by a considerable amount, attaining in November a surplus of nearly 10,000,000 gold marks. Early in the month following a small reduction was granted to taxpayers, with the hope of diverting some of the excess revenue from the local finance offices into the savings and deposit banks, where it might be put to productive use. For most undertakings, however, stringency in capital remained acute. Both the Deutsche Bank and the Disconto Gesellschaft, among the greater banks of the country, converted their capital in paper marks into capital in gold marks; furthermore, stocks were quoted on the Exchange in "reichsmarks," instead of paper.

Improvement was visible in the iron, steel and textile trades, and in the machinery, motor-vehicle, paper and rubber industries, and was due chiefly to an increasing domestic demand. A new steel syndicate, composed of thirty-one corporations that included the Krupp, Phoenix and Thyssen Companies, was established.

Unemployment fell off about 9 per cent. during the last ten weeks of the year. In late October the average wage of a skilled workman in Prussia for a forty-eight-hour week was 34.68 gold marks (\$8.67) and of an unskilled laborer, 26.23 (\$6.56). Both the inland buying power and the foreign exchange value of German wages were, indeed, further below the American level than before the war. Not only the laboring classes, but the rank and file of officials everywhere, suffered from the effects of gross underpayment, over against a cost of living which showed but a slight tendency to diminish.

Conditions continued to improve, however; the drop in unemployment at the close of the year was only one of several indications of a more prosperous Germany; outstanding among other auguries of revival was the announcement

by American Trade Commissioner Miller at Berlin that on Sept. 30, at the end of the first six months of the fiscal year, German finances showed a surplus of 149,326,160 gold marks.

So much interest was aroused in the Flettner "sailless" or "rotor" ship (described elsewhere in these pages), that plans were formed to promote the financial and commercial development of the invention. It was reported that the Deutsche Bank headed a consortium for the purpose, and that the Hamburg-American Line proposed to equip ten of its freighters with the new device.

Austria

TWO outstanding administrative developments held the attention of the Austrian public during the month under review: Dr. Ignaz Seipel, the clerical Chancellor who had guided the affairs of his country during the last three years, resigned office on Nov. 17; Dr. Michael Hainisch was re-elected President of the Confederation at a meeting of the Federal Assembly on Dec. 9. The Presidential election was largely perfunctory, the bourgeois parties casting 111 votes and the Socialists refusing to participate. The immediate occasion for the retirement of Dr. Seipel was a strike of the railway employes for higher wages. To grant their demands would require an increase on the debit side of the budget which, in Dr. Seipel's judgment, menaced the fulfillment of the program of financial recovery to which he stood committed. Although the strike was settled within five days on the basis of a compromise, the Chancellor insisted nevertheless upon being permitted to withdraw.

The new Cabinet, chosen by the National Council, was headed by Dr. Rudolf Ramek, a member of that body and formerly Under Secretary of Justice. Of his eight colleagues four had belonged to the Seipel Ministry. In their political affiliations six were Christian Social and two Pan-German (i.e., in favor of union with Germany). Dr. Ramek being of the same party as his

predecessor, declared at the outset his firm intention to introduce no changes into the general policies pursued hitherto in accordance with the regulations laid down by the League of Nations to meet the Austrian financial situation.

Ill health, it was understood, was partially responsible for the resignation of Dr. Seipel. The chief factor, however, was his determination to make a test of strength between himself and certain of his presumed followers who had evinced a disposition to balk at his leadership. He wished to have the individual "Länder," or States, of the Federal Union brought more effectually into common economic and political action, indispensable to ultimate reconstruction of the public finances. The opponents of this idea of a "uniform fiscal system" in the Christian Social and Pan-German parties looked rather toward upholding the efforts of the States to secure a still greater degree of autonomy than they now possess. This attitude, however, though enabling them to retain power in their own provinces, made them actually appear as supporters of their adversaries, the Social Democrats, who control Vienna, the State that has by far the largest revenues from taxation.

In this connection it appeared from records recently published that the capital city under its Social Democratic rulers not only enjoys a large income but expends it upon a variety of municipal enterprises. These include care of the unemployed, the construction of houses for the working classes, the supply of midday meals to school children—to which item alone more than 15,000,000,000 paper crowns were devoted during the past year—and the management of productive public works. The works in question were said to furnish street railway service, gas, electricity and water more cheaply than ever before, and to provide in all cases a surplus that either was turned back into the enterprise itself or accrued to the direct benefit of the State Treasury. For the maintenance of all such municipal undertakings, fifteen

new kinds of taxes were announced in October to be levied upon the property classes and upon luxuries.

According to a statement of the Minister of Finance, the gold reserve available since the period of financial reconstruction began increased from 25 to 51 per cent.; furthermore, the discount rate fell and the extremely high taxation on banking transactions was reduced to the lowest obtaining in any of the States that once formed part of Austria-Hungary. The note circulation of the National Bank decreased by 283,000,000,000 paper crowns. Deposits in the savings banks rose to nearly two and a quarter trillion paper crowns, as compared with sixty billions two years ago. Another apparent evidence of general, if not individual, well-being was a re-

duction reported for September in the surplus of imports.

The cost of living, nevertheless, went up, accompanied by demands from State employes for higher wages, even if private workers could venture little on this score in the face of the many thousands of unemployed. So as to cover the increase allowed to the railway men and to meet other requirements of the service, the domestic and foreign postal rates were raised on Dec. 1.

In the relations of Austria with neighboring States, the most important event was the conclusion, Nov. 29, of a commercial treaty with Czechoslovakia, lowering the tariff charges on a considerable number of the former's exports.

Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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THE Italian Parliament, which was closed soon after the murder of Matteotti in June, opened again on Nov. 12, immediately after the recent Armistice Day disorders, which produced a situation of great tension. Though the reports in foreign newspapers of a threatened coup to overthrow Fascism were apparently groundless, the challenge to a duel which, subsequent to the outbursts in Rome, was sent by General Garibaldi, grandson of the great Italian hero, to Mussolini, caused great excitement. Mussolini did not respond, and when General Italo Balbo, Chief of the National Militia, answered on his own behalf by challenging Garibaldi to a duel, the question was submitted to the Court of Honor in Florence. In the desire to prevent violent acts the Government forbade citizens to carry arms and prohibited political meetings or demonstrations of any kind. The war veterans issued a manifesto on Nov. 10, asserting that the attacks

which the Fascisti had made on the veterans in numerous cities during the Armistice Day celebrations indicated a concerted movement against the former soldiers. The manifesto called urgently for the cessation of violence and the restoration of liberty.

Parliament opened without the combined opposition parties, who remained firmly entrenched "on the Aventine," as they themselves declared, likening their action to the secession of the plebeians in ancient Rome. The Liberals, who at the time of the election in April supported Mussolini as a flanking party, went to the Chamber divided, a group of them under former Premier Salandra supporting the Government, while the others, among whom, as it transpired, were Giolitti and Orlando, opposed the Mussolini régime. The total number of Deputies present at the opening session was barely 280, and even when the votes were taken not more than 372 of the 535 Deputies were

present. The small attendance was especially noteworthy, in view of the fact that the Fascisti had the naming of two-thirds—that is, 356—of the Deputies, and actually had in the “Fascista bis” candidates and in various flanking parties at least 400 Deputies among their supporters when the Chamber opened in May. Many former Fascisti had followed the course of the Opposition in staying away from Parliament, but the grave fears that a quorum could not be secured proved groundless; the attendance actually increased after the first few days. At the opening session Deputy Ribossi, as a representative of the Communists, who had steadily held themselves aloof from the other opposition parties, came into the Chamber and, in the midst of turbulent interruptions, declared in the name of his party that the commemoration of Matteotti, with which the session was to open, was a profanation in a gathering selected by Matteotti’s murderers.

The first few days of Parliament were occupied with a discussion of the Government’s foreign policy, and on Nov. 15 a vote of confidence was called for, which Mussolini, realizing that his foreign policy had more supporters than his home administration, declared would be taken as a vote on the entire policy of his Government. There were 315 votes in favor of the Government and 6 unfavorable; twenty-six Deputies were present but abstained from voting. Among those who did not vote were former Premier Orlando and Aldo Finzi, who was for a time Under-Secretary of the Interior under Mussolini. Among those voting in the negative was the aged Giolitti, five times Premier, whose brief speech, his first political utterance in some months, was much quoted in Italy. He said in part:

If the Government had confined itself to asking for a vote on foreign policy, I should have no difficulty in giving it. But since the Premier has declared that the vote is to consider the entire policy of the Government, I am constrained to declare what my reasons are for the vote which I shall cast. My vote is determined chiefly by reasons of domestic policy, which, in my opinion, have their influ-

ence on foreign policy. Since the general elections conditions within the country have been profoundly changed. With the simple device of a royal decree the liberty of the press has actually been suppressed.

Here Mussolini interrupted the speaker with the words, “Actually it has not.” To this Giolitti replied:

To this point, too, there is a reply in my declaration and it is this. It will be said, and the Premier has said it now, that the decree is applied with discretion. I recognize that. But public liberties cannot depend on the degree of tolerance of prefects. In the history of our country there have been moments that were much more difficult than the present. None of the Governments in power at those times thought of suppressing the liberty of the press. And that had an obvious influence on foreign nations because it had its part in causing us to be considered one of the most free and civilized of nations. The Italian people, who have undergone the most terrible of wars, cannot be judged less worthy of liberty after the war than they were before.

Premier Mussolini continued his battle for stronger support; a notable victory for him was the speech of Delcroix, chief of the war invalids, who, before voting favorably on the foreign policy, had declared that he would reserve judgment on domestic affairs. The eloquent address of the maimed veteran, who lost both eyes and both hands in the war, was seen as a significant indication that great faith in Mussolini still existed in many quarters. It also was taken to show that the war invalids were less disposed to condemn the Government than the war veterans with whom they formerly agreed. After admitting the shortcomings of Fascism, Delcroix said:

Every great movement has found and brought to power a great man. You now have this great man. Let it not be said that Italy has at last found a great leader and that envy struck him down.

The Government has done its duty in the face of immense difficulties, and any one who is not driven by personal ambitions must admit it. We have every reason to believe that the Government will also fulfill the nation’s desire for peace.

Addressing former Premier Giolitti, Delcroix continued:

When you spoke the other night, I was filled with admiration at your returning to the active struggle of political life despite your 80 years. But I did not understand your words, which seemed indistinct and far away to me. Perhaps they were drowned by the roar of the river of blood which separates your generation from mine. For you the fall of Mussolini would represent a mere change of Government. For us it would represent the end of a dream, the dying out of a hope, the defeat of youth and the destruction of the very reason for our existence.

But all signs were not so favorable to the Government in the discussion. Most significant was the speech of Salandra, who, in announcing his continued support of Mussolini, declared:

It is undeniable, even though it is regrettable, that there is some alienation from you in the country. This alienation, which is an undeniable fact and which you must admit, depends on many things, and it is well that some one here should admit it, for otherwise it might seem that we wished to hide from ourselves certain truths and realities. On the contrary, to save our health it is well to recognize our ills.

He then spoke of the undesirable elements in Fascism, the use of violence and the illegal suppression of the local Administration in many communities. The Chamber devoted much of the ensuing weeks to the consideration of the Government's domestic policy. Outstanding among legislative matters was the Navy bill, which provided for radical expansion of Italy's marine defenses. The Chamber of Deputies approved the bill on Dec. 10. The measure, which appropriates 925,000,000 lire for the service, was sponsored by Marquis Admiral Thaon di Revel, who explained that one-fourth of the amount would be spent for Minister of Marine materials. An energetic discussion preceded the vote.

Addressing Parliament in defense of his domestic policy, Mussolini made a speech that was conciliatory almost to the point of being apologetic. The discussion on this issue ended in a vote of 337 favorable to the Government and 17 opposed, with eighteen Deputies abstaining from voting. This time

both Orlando and Finzi voted in the negative. The results of the vote were commented upon as follows by the *Corriere della Sera*, Italy's foremost newspaper, which supports the Constitutional Opposition:

The week of discussion on domestic policy has ended well numerically for the Government. Morally we assume that Mussolini would have preferred to see it end somewhat better. This is what happened. In the midst of a disciplined majority ready to accept either violence or calmness, threats or promises, sarcasm or homage to the Constitution, the Deputies who have really faced the question have more or less openly, more or less effectively, asked the Government that a return to normalcy be secured. All those who have had the will and the power to analyze the facts, not only Soleri and Orlando, who were opposed to the Government, but also Salandra, who was favorable, have in one way or another made it clear that a situation exists which contrasts strikingly with Mussolini's optimism about the remarkable popularity of his Government and his party, and that situation is the disappointment or, according to the most favorable of suppositions, the growing impatience that men feel to see some promises finally become realities.

Mussolini's conciliatory speech produced considerable difficulty in the Fascist Party, where, as always, the extremists and the moderates clashed. The difficulties were increased by the publication of a letter written more than a year ago by General Italo Balbo, Chief of the National Militia, to the Fascist representatives in Bologna:

As for those Communists, you had better explain to them that a change of air would do their health good and that they had better remove themselves to another Province. If they insist on remaining, you had better have them beaten, without exaggeration, but systematically—till they make up their minds. Show this part of my letter to the Prefect of Bologna and say to him in my name that I have plenty of evidence to justify my demand not to allow such desperadoes to reside in my city or Province. The police would do well to persecute them by detaining them at headquarters at least once a week, and it would be well if the Prefect were to let the King's prosecutor understand that we do not wish any lawsuits as a result of our beatings (which must be performed in the grand style). If I write you this

from Rome it is because I know what I am saying.

Balbo admitted that he had written the letter in "a moment of exasperation." In order not to embarrass his party he at once resigned. The acceptance of his resignation was received with great dissatisfaction by Fascist extremists who had relied on the militia chief. Various letters from Fascist leaders urging violence at the time of the April elections were also published. One of these, quoted below, gave Mussolini as authority for the orders. This document was written by Francesco Giunta, then Secretary General of the Fascist Party, to the Fascist Provincial Federation of Alessandria, Cuneo, Novara, Milan, Pavila and Turin:

By order of "the Duce" of Fascism and in conformity with the unanimous opinion of the National Directorate, Provincial Secretaries must consider Raimondo Sala and Cesare Forni as most formidable enemies of Fascismo. As a consequence of this and to second the instructions imparted by the head of the Government to the Prefects of your Provinces, the life of the two above-mentioned gentlemen must be rendered impossible in the Provinces where they have every interest to create trouble for the purposes of electoral speculation. They must not be allowed to hold meetings or lectures. Wherever they are seen they must be violently attacked by all Fascisti. Particular warning must be given to Facisti of Beilla who have not treated these individuals who are declared enemies of Fascismo and of the Government as they deserve.

I await telegraphic confirmation of the receipt of this circular in order that I may reassure "the Duce" that his orders will be carried out.

The letters received much comment in the Opposition press, which saw in them a proof of the fact that violent methods were inherent in Fascism and that "the Duce" shared with his henchmen the responsibility for the party's illegal deeds.

After the publication of the letters Mussolini took immediate action to crush violence in the party. Fascist representatives throughout Italy on Dec. 1 received a circular letter declaring

that a revision of the party's mental, moral and political position was necessary. The impression produced by recent incidents must, he said, be effaced, and the confidence the people felt in his rule must be justified; discreditable elements must be wiped out. Mussolini also directed that processions and ceremonies, hitherto very frequent among the Fascisti, should occur less often and should be carried out in a spirit of dignity. There was dissatisfaction in many quarters over the new orders and particularly in the Tuscan federation, which declared that Mussolini's circular was in effect a surrender to the libelous campaign in the Opposition press. The Opposition members of the Chamber and the representatives of other Opposition committees who were at the moment in session in Milan showed no signs of accepting Mussolini's concessions. They still demanded that Mussolini give up his national militia, and on that point Mussolini was immovable.

The Senate began its discussion of Mussolini's policies on Dec. 3. Senator Albertini, editor and owner of the *Corriere della Sera*, proposed that a military dictatorship be substituted for Mussolini's Government during a transition period while Parliamentary Government was being re-established. This suggestion was vigorously opposed by General Giardino, who declared that it was a tradition of the Italian Army not to take part in politics. He proposed a vote of confidence in the Government, provided that the following reforms in the national militia should be effected:

- (1) The militia to depend jointly upon the Ministry of War and Ministry of Interior;
- (2) command of the militia to be entrusted to a regular army General, who shall apply to the militia all laws and regulations governing the regular army;
- (3) the maximum strength of the militia to be fixed by law;
- (4) the militia to be open to all citizens, provided they are 21 years old;
- (5) all officers to be army officers and to occupy ranks equal to the ones they held in the army;
- (6) all arms not to be entrusted to the keeping of militiamen, as is done at present, but to be kept in barracks under proper guard.

These demands Mussolini definitely rejected in his speech on Dec. 5; he said:

My chief reason is that the militia does not exist. You are probably surprised at this assertion, but it is the truth. If you go to the barracks of the militia in Rome you will find only seven or eight persons there. The militia is composed of workmen, of citizens, of combatants who work all week and only serve when they are specially called. They are volunteers, in other words, and cannot be treated like the regular army. If at any time they are dissatisfied they can resign immediately. If this were not so, the militia would merely become a bad version of the army, and this I wish to avoid.

Mussolini denied that he had not carried out pledges given to the Senate before it last voted confidence in him:

What did I promise on that occasion? I said I would firmly repress all illegalities. This I have done, and I have figures here which cannot be doubted to prove it. I said I would discipline my party, and this also have I done. What better proof could you require than the peaceful way in which Fascismo behaved when

it learned the news of the murder of its beloved Deputy Casalini? I said I would make Parliament function, and you can all see that Parliament is now open and is working normally. I said, finally, that I would govern only through Parliament, and this also have I done, as all measures I have caused to be adopted were passed through Parliament, except a few which were necessary to handle situations which arose when the Chamber was not sitting.

He declared his confidence in the future of the Fascist Party:

Do not be led astray by the idea that Fascismo is approaching its end. We may pass through a crisis, we may have some dark moments, but a party like the Fascist Party, which has such a wonderful history of vitality and pugnaciousness, cannot die.

The vote in the Senate was 206 in favor of the Government to 54 against, with 35 members abstaining from voting. The vote showed that Mussolini lost heavily in influence in the Senate, which was for a time disposed to vote him confidence by a much larger majority.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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Czechoslovakia

PARLIAMENT reassembled at the end of October and forthwith received the budget estimates for 1925. Although the estimated revenues fell below the figure for 1924 by 689,376,165 crowns, the estimated expenditures were smaller by 1,019,808,097 crowns, so that the budget came nearer balancing than in any preceding year in the republic's history. This was made possible chiefly by a decrease of about 480,000,000 crowns in the army appropriation, as compared with the preceding twelvemonth—a saving due mainly, in turn, to reductions in the size of the military establishment and the length of

service. The tax burden per capita is heavier than in France, Italy or Austria, and sentiment in favor of further economy is strong both in Socialist circles and among citizens generally.

This polyglot nation's imperfect solidarity was strikingly illustrated during the past month, which was one of the stormiest periods that the war-born republic ever experienced. Representatives of the 3,000,000 German-speaking inhabitants lodged bitter complaint early in the parliamentary session, charging discrimination against their schools and protesting against the expected wholesale discharge of railway employes unable to speak Czech. The Minister of Railways explained that for

the convenience of the traveling public it was essential that the railway employes be able to speak both Czech and German, that 70 per cent. of them already could do so, and that no wholesale discharges were contemplated. Deputy Srdinko, in a speech on the school budget on Nov. 11, showed that the number of pupils per teacher was smaller in the German-language schools than in the schools where Czech was used and declared that there was no intention to "throttle the German schools." The complainants, however, were not convinced.

The Slovaks actively revived their demand for a separate Slovak Parliament and a grant of practical independence in all domestic affairs, alleging that the "Czechoslovakian Nation" as such did not exist, arguing that the Czechs and Slovaks were in reality distinct nations; and demanding that the promise of Slovak autonomy contained in the much-disputed Pittsburgh agreement be made good without more delay; and the assertion of Dr. Markovitch, Minister of Education, in the Budget Committee that Czech teachers in Slovakia have done more than the Slovaks themselves to promote the development of the Slovak language merely sharpened the controversy.

The dispute reached its climax late in November, when the German, Slovak, Hungarian and Ruthenian Deputies withdrew from the parliamentary sessions as a protest against the Government's lack of consideration for the rights of minorities and appealed to the world, and especially the "protectors of the Czechoslovak State," for moral support. Only a small number of friends of the Government were left to carry on the important budget debate; and, to make matters worse, the Government fell under sharp attack from the Liberal press, even including some of the Conservative papers, because of censorship of the press for which the Clerical Minister of Justice, Dr. Jan Dolansky, was held primarily responsible. Complaints against the censorship had been numerous ever since the establish-

ment of the republic, and a crisis was precipitated when an issue of the *Ceske Slovo*, leading organ of the Czech National Socialists, was confiscated because it contained quotations from speeches and pronouncements in which Clerical leaders had sharply criticized President Masaryk and the republic itself. Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Spain, it was bitterly complained, were the only civilized countries in which newspapers had to appear with their columns defaced by the censor's blue pencil.

A touch of pathos underlay the fact that while the country was thus distracted by racial and party animosities, which did not stop short of bitter personal attack upon its chief creator, President Masaryk, reported to be in ill-health and possibly approaching an end of his notable career, was publishing, in instalments, his memoirs and giving his people advice in a fashion strongly reminiscent of the Farewell Address of the "father" and first President of the great nation lying on the other side of the Atlantic. A main point in the President's counsel was the building up of a Danubian federation, which, however, Foreign Minister Benès was understood to oppose, whether as a political or merely a customs union, on the ground that it would tend to restore the old Austro-Hungarian hegemony.

Greece

HENRY MORGENTHAU resigned as head of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission at the beginning of November. As originally constituted, the commission consisted of Mr. Morgenthau, one representative of Great Britain and two representatives of Greece; and, contrary to an impression existing in some quarters, its sole function was to supervise the permanent settlement of Greek refugees upon lands donated by the Greek Government and the farms vacated by Turks departing for Asia Minor under the terms of the Lausanne Treaty. Care of the many thousands of women, girls, old men and

children numbered among the refugees was not within the commission's province; for them the only source of relief and sustenance was the world's—mainly England's and America's—charity. Some 600,000 such unfortunates were reported by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner of the League for Refugees, to be still in desperate need, one-third of the number having arrived in Europe since last Summer and all in an absolutely destitute condition.

The Morgenthau Commission arranged through the League of Nations for a loan of from £6,000,000 to £10,000,000, secured on the basis of certain revenues of the Greek nation. Only a portion of the money, however, had been made available. It was stated that the whole loan would eventually be used to establish the refugees in farming districts now under Greek control, providing them with land, buildings and equipment; and it was part of the plan that these properties would eventually be offered to the beneficiaries for purchase on the instalment plan.

M. George Roussos tendered his resignation as Minister of Foreign Affairs on Nov. 20, but agreed to remain in office pending the appointment of his successor.

Yugoslavia

THE prolonged deadlock produced by the resignation of the Davidovitch Ministry on Oct. 15 and the inability of the Democratic leader, M. Timotijevitch, to form a Cabinet was broken on Nov. 5, when ex-Premier Nicola Pashitch, despite ill-health, agreed to resume office. The veteran Premier associated with himself twelve members of his own Radical Party, four Independent Democrats and one representative of the National Serbian Bloc. Ex-Premier Davidovitch was invited to join, along with three other leading Democrats, but the offer was refused on the ground that the Democrats had a majority in Parliament and the appointment of Pashitch to the Premiership was unconstitutional.

Before accepting his mandate M. Pashitch exacted from King Alexander

a promise of a Parliamentary dissolution, and, in accordance therewith, on Nov. 10 the Skupshtina was dissolved by a royal decree which ordered a general election to be held on Sunday, Feb. 8, and the new Skupshtina to meet on Saturday, March 7. During the twenty months of its existence the expiring Parliament had been able to enact hardly a dozen measures of any importance, mainly because the Government lacked a majority adequate for competently attacking any major problem.

An official communiqué, issued when the new Ministry took office, stated that the Croatian Peasant Party of M. Raditch could not be included in any Cabinet combinations during the settlement of the recent crisis, on account of the announcement of its leader that he intended to maintain his relations with Moscow. Through the influence of the King M. Pashitch did, indeed, in the last week of November, admit five Croats into the Cabinet group, but no one of these was identified with M. Raditch's Republican peasants' party. One of the five was Professor Gjuro Surmin, of the Agram University. Although the five did not control as many votes as did Raditch, it was hoped in Government circles that their presence in the Cabinet would somewhat counteract the influence of the peasant leader in the campaign. On Nov. 30 it was announced that, on account of definite proof that the Croatian independence movement was encouraged and financed by Moscow, M. Davidovitch (who, as Democratic Premier, first allowed the Croats a share in the Government) had agreed that henceforth Croatian nationalists ought not to be permitted to hold any Ministerial offices.

In pursuance of its strictly centralizing policy, the Pashitch Government decided not only to abolish the special provincial administrations set up in Croatia and Slovenia by the Davidovitch Government, but also to resume the liquidation of the old provincial administrations existing under the Hapsburgs. In the field of foreign affairs, the Government on Dec. 10 protested to the

Vienna Government against its official recognition of the new Soviet Ambassador to Austria, M. Joffe, whose communistic activities, it was charged, made him an enemy of peace in the Balkans.

An outbreak in Montenegro at the middle of November, produced primarily by the age-long feud between the Christian and Mohammedan populations, stirred interest in Government circles at Belgrade because of the inflammable political condition in the annexed country. The Cabinet discussed the situation and troops were dispatched to the scene. The political revolution that had been feared did not, however, materialize.

Negotiations for a military treaty between Yugoslavia, Rumania and Italy were reported to be in progress, with a view to conclusion before the January meeting of the Little Entente. A visit of the King and Queen of Yugoslavia to Rome and a meeting of the Yugoslav and Italian Premiers were also projected.

Henry Dayton, American Vice Consul at Belgrade, was attacked on Dec. 5 by Anna Uzupapte, a young Lithuanian woman, who then committed suicide. Dayton received three bullet wounds and also was badly burned by vitriol; he died of his injuries on Dec. 8. The tragedy was reported to the American State Department and an investigation was ordered.

Hungary

COMMISSIONER SMITH'S monthly report, published Nov. 22, showed continued progress in Hungarian financial reconstruction, the gross revenues collected from all sources in October having been the largest for any month since the League of Nations plan came into operation last Spring. It was pointed out, however, that receipts during this period were abnormally high on account of the harvests and certain special operations of the tariff laws.

Politically, the month was a period of stress. The entire country was excited over the handling of the Marffy

bombing case and over charges of corruption against M. Szabo, former Minister of Agriculture, who, in the midst of the controversy, died suddenly from heart failure on Nov. 2. On Nov. 28 and 29 wild scenes were enacted in Parliament and numerous members were ejected by the guards; and during the night of Nov. 29 the city of Budapest was the scene of turbulence which vividly recalled the experiences of the revolution. The military were called out to occupy the royal castle and other State buildings; editions of three newspapers were confiscated; Social Democratic meetings were broken up, and for several hours the capital was, to all intents and purposes, in a state of siege. The main issue was between the Social Democrats and the Bethlen Government, the latter being accused of tolerating corruption in the Ministry of Agriculture and failing to adopt adequate measures against the Fascist "Awakening Hungarians" and their outrages. Despite a belief, even among those not in sympathy with the Socialists, that the Government had overreached itself, Premier Bethlen seemed to come off victoriously. The Immunity Committee in Parliament upheld the removal of the protesting members and debarred several of them from attendance until after specified periods, and by Dec. 2 only somewhat unusual police and military patrols remained as evidence of the contest. There was doubt, however, whether the ministry could weather another such storm. That the Government itself entertained such fears was indicated on Dec. 12, when the National Assembly voted to empower the Speaker to cut short Parliamentary discussion at will and to exclude the Opposition from the sessions—a measure that was regarded as equivalent to a dictatorship for the Premier, Count Bethlen.

Hungarian legitimists announced that the time had come for more definite effort toward the full restoration of monarchy and to that end they formed a new Parliamentary monarchist club. The movement was headed by well-known aristocrats, including Count

Julius Andrassy, Prince Louis Windisch-Graetz, Marquis Pallavicini and Count Anthony Sigray. The famous monarchical regiment formed by Count Ostenburg after the collapse of Hungary, and used effectively in support of Emperor Karl when he attempted to regain the throne, was disbanded, but the officers subsequently organized a company ostensibly for agricultural pursuits, but which was suspected of being designed primarily for monarchist propaganda.

Poland

DURING the month under review Poland was in the somewhat unusual position of having a Ministry composed of men who were not actively affiliated with Parliamentary political parties. This, however, did not result in any immunity from attack on partisan lines, and in mid-November Premier Grabski found himself obliged to reconstruct the group. MM. Huebner, Wyganowski and Darawski, Ministers of Interior, Justice and Labor, respectively, resigned and were succeeded, in the order named, by M. Ratayski, President of the City of Poznan; M. Zychlinski, a leading Warsaw lawyer, and M. Sokol, former Polish delegate to the International Labor Bureau at Geneva. The pressure which led to these changes came from the parties of the Left, and the new Ministers were drawn from the more radical political elements, although, like their predecessors, they were not actively connected with any of the Parliamentary parties. In addition to these replacements, M. Stanislaw Thugutt, until recently head of the Radical Peasants Party, was made a Minister without portfolio (although acting as Vice President of the Council of Ministers); and to him was assigned especially the task of dealing with conditions in the eastern border provinces having Ukrainian and White Russian populations and exposed to repeated and unsettling Bolshevik raids.

The Polish Minister at Washington, Dr. Wladislaw Wroblewski, reached an agreement with Secretary Mellon on

Nov. 15 by which the Polish debt to the United States, amounting to \$178,560,000, was stabilized and the interest thereon fixed. The general arrangements were similar to those made when the British debt was funded a year or more previously. The debt to the United States included bills for flour, Shipping Board services, surplus war stores and famine relief supplies. The agreement was approved by President Coolidge and was subject to endorsement by the American Congress and by the President and Council of Ministers of Poland. Negotiations for the funding of the relief credits granted to Poland by Great Britain during and after the war were concluded on Dec. 12, after months of discussion conducted by M. Skirmunt, the Polish Minister. Under the arrangement £5,000,000 was to be paid by Poland within fifteen years. Other obligations totaling about \$1,000,000 were also to be funded.

It was announced in Warsaw on Dec. 6 that an agreement had been entered into by all the Polish oil refiners under which all oil would be sold at the same price in the domestic markets, while exports of the products of the Polish refineries would be made in common. The agreement was to last a year, with the understanding that it should be renewable for three years if the members consent.

Rumania

PETER A. JAY, the American Minister to Rumania, returned to Bucharest early in November and there continued negotiations looking to a friendly settlement of the difficulties produced by Rumanian mining legislation and the inability of American creditors to collect money owed them by Rumanians.

Meanwhile the series of laws restricting the rights of foreigners in Rumania were increased by a new measure providing that rural landed property, or such town property as is used for agricultural or market gardening purposes, could be inherited only by Rumanian citizens.

Considerable international interest

was aroused in late November by the visit of a large official mission from Japan to the Rumanian oil fields. It was stated in the press that in view of difficulties with British and American companies over the recent mining legislation, the Bucharest Government would welcome the entry of Japanese capital into the Rumanian petroleum industry. The kingdom's petroleum production was reported to be still increasing. In November a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company at Runcu opened a well which was declared to have the heaviest flow ever recorded in the country, and the total national output for the month, estimated at 1,250,000 barrels, was expected to be the greatest in the history of the industry.

The most sensational domestic event of the month was a passport scandal arising out of the heartless exploitation of prospective emigrants to America by a dummy oil company and involving charges that officials belonging to the Ministry of Communications had been in collusion with the offenders, or at least had been guilty of gross negligence. Thousands of victimized persons

were left stranded in France and other countries. An investigation was begun by the Ministry of Justice.

Albania

IT was reported on Dec. 12 that a revolution had broken out in Albania; refugees who reached Yugoslavia declared that the Liouma (Lyuma) populace had arisen and that the movement was on the increase. Authoritative information was lacking, but the Serbian press attached much significance to the reports; it was recalled that Premier Fan S. Noli had of late been subject to bitter criticism. It was further stated that Ahmed Zogu, former Premier, was the leader of the revolt and that a number of his partisans had been arrested in the Mati (Matya) region by order of the Government at Tirana, and that these arrests had aroused deep resentment among the Musselman population. The Serbian press also charged that Premier Fan Noli had brought pressure to bear calculated to influence the elections scheduled for Dec. 20. The Albanian Legation at Rome on Dec. 12 denied the existence of the alleged insurrection.

Russia and the Baltic States

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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THE Soviet authorities for several days withheld the British notes from publication in Russia. Meanwhile the Moscow newspaper *Izvestya*, official organ of the Soviet, severely criticized British actions in Egypt; *Pravda*, organ of the Communist Party, warned Great Britain that "the policy of a strong hand will avail nothing when her colored slaves raise their hands by the millions." Then Rykov, Chief Commissar of the Soviet Union, casually mentioned the notes from Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, in an address before the Congress

of Textile Workers and declared that the Conservative Government in Great Britain had won control by capitalizing the charge that the letter from Zinoviev was genuine. Rykov denied its authenticity. He insisted that the Communist International had no connection with the Soviet Government. He rebuked Great Britain for establishing a "nasty practice of repudiating agreements made by former Governments." He added, however, that the Soviet Government was ready for further negotiations, even if the maximum seemed to have been already conceded to Great Britain. The

official reply of the Russian Minister to the British notes, delivered on Nov. 28, repeated in more diplomatic language the statements of Rykov. In his next speech Rykov admitted that the trouble with Great Britain had complicated Soviet relations with foreign powers, but he asserted that there was a way out for Russia. Competition between France and Great Britain, he said, would bring France and Russia into closer relations. The Communist press continued to rage against the "hangers-on of Egypt, India and Ireland."

The rivalry which has long existed between the triumvirate—Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev—and the War Minister, Trotsky, reached a crisis during the past month. Before the Central Committee of the Communist Party, that group of seven who are the supreme rulers of Soviet Russia, Stalin accused Trotsky of being a Menshevik, a moderate Communist at best. He charged that Trotsky was attempting to discredit "Saint Lenin" and seeking to usurp Lenin's place in the mind of Communist Russia. Kamenev declared that Trotsky's book, "Lessons From the October Revolution," was a "coarse perversion of the history of the Bolshevik revolution and an attempt to undermine the unity of the Communist Party." Zinoviev said that Trotsky should be placed in the position of a General without an army. Trotsky's opponent, Frounze, was placed at the head of the Soviet War Council. This body immediately reversed Trotsky's military policy. Frounze announced that the total strength of the Red army and navy would be reduced from 610,000 to 562,000, and that the system under which Communist Commissars shared commands in the army with non-political officers was to be abandoned. Trotsky had insisted that the military strength of Russia must not be reduced. He had taken credit to himself for the idea of placing political commissars in joint command with military officers. Trotsky's enemies had attacked him on other occasions, but had met with scant success in turning the Russian people

against the man who had stood beside Lenin in the days of the Red revolution; this time, however, they seemed to have accomplished their purpose. The newspapers of Moscow were filled with hostile resolutions from all parts of the Soviet Union. The indications were that, unless a reaction of feeling occurred within the Communist Party in favor of Trotsky, the old idol would be forced either to retire from public life or to leave Russia.

The announcement early in December that Trotsky had suffered a relapse and had been ordered by his physicians to take a six months' rest, strengthened the belief that the War Minister was to be stripped of authority and discarded. Soviet officials, however, on Dec. 12, denied that any such move was contemplated. Serious clashes between Trotsky's followers and the Cheka and other anti-Trotsky elements occurred in Moscow on Trotsky's "banishment," according to advices received in Berlin on Dec. 14.

It was made clear during the month that the Soviet leaders were troubled by the economic situation. Rykov admitted on Nov. 1 that the Soviet had gone too far in its restriction of private trade. In many places, he said, the needs of the population had been entirely neglected after private shops were closed. Moreover, Soviet industry had been injured by the withdrawal of capital to the amount of 25,000,000 rubles to finance the Soviet trading system. He declared that, although this year's harvest was only 10 per cent. lower than last, no grain would be exported. In the last two months the price of bread at Moscow and Leningrad rose 300 per cent. The Government was obliged to set a maximum selling price. The press of Moscow reported that the peasants, who held a two years' flax crop and a year's grain crop in their possession, refused to sell on credit to the Government. From these statements it was evident that distress in Russia was more a result of inefficient distribution and inadequate financing than of a great shortage of food.

The Chief Commissar also admitted that industrial conditions were unsatisfactory. The coal industry suffered from overproduction. The metal industry was near collapse from underproduction. Dzerzhinsky, who gained fame as the head of the Cheka, or secret police, and who is now Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, took charge of the metal industry. He blamed the policy of prohibiting imports of metal goods and machinery for the condition of iron manufacture in Russia. There was not sufficient capital available, he said, to expand the industry to meet all Russia's needs. He blamed the Government for allowing payment of wages to fall in arrears, but he also scored the workmen for inefficiency. Some 11,000 workers, he said, had produced 100 per cent. in 1913, but now 14,000 produced only 37 per cent.

The International Labor Office at Geneva made an investigation of labor conditions in Russia. It found from official statistics that the average wage in Soviet industry during the second half of 1923 was not more than 55 per cent. of the pre-war average; that, with continued depreciation of the ruble, the real wages of Russian labor had declined, and that the number of unemployed in Russia had steadily increased.

The report of the Commissar of Education stated that the Soviet system had not succeeded, and it recommended that private enterprise be permitted. It was stated that there were some 160,000 children in Moscow for whom there were no school accommodations.

In order to increase revenues and stop illicit sale of alcohol, the Soviet Government issued a decree permitting the manufacture and sale of liquors having an alcoholic strength up to 30 per cent. Russian representatives attended a conference at Helsingfors on Nov. 24 at which a protocol was drafted for suppression of smuggling of liquor; the conference was signally representative, all the Baltic States, including Poland and Germany, participating.

Esthonia

THE Government of Esthonia spent a busy month in punishing Communistic plotters and in quelling new revolts. The trial of 149 Communists came to an end on Nov. 27. They were all found guilty of conspiring under the direction of the Communist International for the overthrow of the Esthonian Government. The Court condemned thirty-nine to penal servitude for life, released seven and sentenced the rest to varying terms of imprisonment. The evidence showed that the Soviet Legation at Reval had acted as agent for transmission of instructions and money from Moscow.

On Dec. 1, at 5:30 in the morning, a serious disturbance occurred at Reval. Communists attacked the Executive House, the railway station, the general post-office and certain police stations. The Esthonian Minister of Ways and Communications was killed. There were nearly a hundred casualties. The Esthonian troops were called out, martial law established, and the uprising quickly put down. Esthonian authorities charged that the affair at Reval had been planned at Moscow, that a Red squadron cruised off the coast of Esthonia until it learned that the uprising had failed, that Russian cavalry had been concentrated in the vicinity of Leningrad, near the border of Esthonia, and that a majority of the prisoners taken during the fighting had but recently come from Soviet Russia. It became known on Dec. 3 that the Moscow Pravda of Nov. 28 had announced that the democratic régime in Esthonia would terminate on Dec. 2. On Nov. 29 the Pravda had published an appeal to the proletariat of Esthonia: "Be assured that the Red army, and particularly Budenny's cavalry, with one blow will cut off the head of the Esthonian bourgeoisie." Of seventeen persons tried by the Esthonian court-martial seven were condemned and immediately executed.

Many of the conspirators escaped and crossed the frontier into Russia; others,

caught by Esthonian troops, put up strong resistance until they were either killed or made prisoners. A party of rebels started from Esthonia in two airplanes, bound for Russia; one machine made the trip successfully, the other, however, was forced to land on Esthonian soil and its occupants were captured.

Finland

THE Finnish people in the month under review witnessed a political crisis. The Agrarian Party opposed a law concerning the pensions of national servants. Already displeased with the income-tax law, Agrarian members of the Ministry resigned. As their withdrawal broke the coalition which had formed the Government, the Conservative Prime Minister also resigned, but the President asked him and the other members of the Cabinet to remain. A new Ministry was constructed under Conservative leadership, with the vacant places filled by representatives from the three other parties. The Ministry, as tentatively completed on Nov. 24, was as follows:

LAURI INGMAN—Prime Minister and Minister of Education.

HJALMAR J. PROCOPE—Foreign Affairs.

A. VON HELLENS—Justice.

G. K. G. SAHISTEIN—Interior.

LAURI MALMBERG—Defense.

YRJO PULKKINEN—Treasury.

OSKARI MANTERE—Assistant Minister of Education.

LABOR—Vacant.

ILMARI AUER—Assistant Minister of Labor.

ROLF WITTING—Communications.

AXEL PALMGREN—Commerce and Industry.

LAURI POHJALA—Social.

Latvia

THE Government of Finland approved a measure which made Latvian vessels taxable on the same basis as Finnish ships. Latvia held a conference with Lithuania to discuss traffic regulations for the citizens of both countries. The Danish Minister arrived to negotiate a treaty of commerce and navigation. A commercial treaty was signed with France, giving the same concessions to France as had earlier been granted to Finland and Esthonia. Latvia received permission from Esthonia to build a radio and coaling station on Runo Island off the port of Riga.

Other Nations of Europe

BY RICHARD HEATH DABNEY

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Spain

DURING the Spanish retreat from Sheshuan General Serrano was killed and General Federico Berenguer, who then took command of Serrano's brigade, was severely wounded. The latter is a brother of General Damaso Berenguer, recently sentenced to six months' imprisonment for attending a banquet in Madrid at which speeches were made attacking the Military Directorate. Torrential rains, as well as attacks by the Moors, had

caused much suffering to the retreating Spaniards, who were ill provided with tents. Their rear guard was at Sok el Arba on Dec. 4, while the main body was between that place and Bar Ben Karrich. There had also been fighting almost under the walls of Tetuan, into which the Moors were striving to drive the Spaniards. Simultaneously with the withdrawal of the Spanish troops from the Tetuan-Sheshuan road, the Anjera tribe, freed of danger of attack on its flank, rose in revolt. On Dec. 12 the Spanish camp at Alcazar-Seguir, on the

Strait of Gibraltar, was captured and other posts also fell. The Moorish leader had been proclaimed ruler of Sheshuan. Peace negotiations had apparently been abandoned for the present, in view of the fact that Abd-el Krim demanded 20,000,000 pesetas as war indemnity and the evacuation of the entire Spanish Zone except Ceuta and Melilla. Since Primo de Rivera headed the army in Morocco 180 Spanish positions had been abandoned. The Marquis de Magaz, Acting President of the Directorate during Rivera's absence from Spain, declared that "it is a cause for rejoicing that the plan * * * is being mathematically developed, thanks to the energy of those directing the operations. No previous Government has dared to face the problem." There was, however, much discontent manifested in Spain because the soldiers in the 1921 class, whose time had expired, had not been discharged, and also because the recruits of the 1924 class had been prematurely called to the colors, instead of in February. Numerous cases of insubordination were reported, both in the African army and in the Madrid barracks. The American Society of Madrid, consisting of business men, adopted resolutions on Dec. 2, however, declaring that the rumors of "a state of unrest, disorder and even open revolution in Spain" were "entirely without foundation." Wilbur Forrest also cabled from Madrid to a New York newspaper that the interior of Spain—including Barcelona, Bilbao and the industrial regions—was perfectly calm. He also stated that Rivera's most powerful political opponents agree that there was no intention of embarrassing the dictator while he was at work on the Moroccan problem. Magaz told Mr. Forrest that a pan-Islamic agitation, with headquarters in Egypt, had arisen against Spain on account of the Moroccan war, and that the Russian Soviet Government was trying to flood Spain with revolutionary and terrorist propaganda. Both movements, he asserted, were aided by "funds subscribed among the anti-Catholic ele-

ments in North, Central and South America, and particularly in the United States." The actual revolutionary plots, however, were being developed and aided by Spanish radical malcontents in Southern France near the Spanish border. Three of these men, captured early in November, were convicted of plotting against the Government and condemned to death. Two of them, Gil and Santillan, were executed on Dec. 6. The third tried to escape on the way to execution by running to a high gallery, but jumped to death when he saw that escape was impossible. The French police had discovered arms and ammunition at different places, and had arrested some of the Spaniards having them in their possession.

Rivera revealed his Moroccan plan to the correspondent of a Madrid newspaper at Tetuan. He intended to keep smugglers and Moorish rebels from the coast region by a long system of thoroughly fortified trenches, the road connecting Tangier with other places along the coast being behind the trenches. The consolidation of this line, he said, would require several years. He expected to place the whole Spanish zone under the native Government, but had no idea of abandoning it. An armistice was to be signed between Spain and the Moors after the Spanish troops retired behind lines agreed upon, according to information received from Spain by The London Daily Mail. Rivera, in an interview with a correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt, said that he expected to return to Spain in March, when normal conditions would be restored. He was uncertain of the electoral procedure under which a new Spanish Legislature would be chosen, but declared that the press would be free to speak its mind before election.

Blasco Ibáñez, in his book, "Alfonso Unmasked," accused the King of receiving information from the French Military Attaché in Madrid during the war and passing it along to the German Military Attaché, and also of making it possible for German submarines to use

Spanish ports as a base to attack allied shipping. He held Alfonso responsible for the overthrow of the Spanish Constitution and declared that the King "has never for a single moment ceased to be the real master of Spain." James W. Gerard, however, who went through Spain after receiving his passports from Germany when the United States entered the war, puts faith in Alfonso's assertion to him that his sympathies were with France.

A recent weekly statement of the Bank of Spain showed that since July, 1914, the gold reserve had increased from 543,497,000 pesetas to 2,434,927,979, nearly a fivefold increase, while notes in circulation had increased from 1,919,000,000 pesetas to 4,528,084,925, an increase less than threefold. The Spanish wheat harvest this year is estimated at 126,000,000 bushels, compared with 157,000,000 in 1923. It was reported that an important colliery company at Mieres in the Asturias had been sold to a group in which the Krupps of Germany had interests. In Barcelona and Valencia the Krupps were combining with Spanish firms engaged in the construction of locomotives and in shipbuilding.

Portugal

PARLIAMENT was opened on Nov. 4. The Clerical Party protested against what they called the anti-religious policy of the Government. The Premier, Senhor Rodrigues Gaspar, read a long report on the work carried out during the interregnum. His tone was optimistic; but on Nov. 19, after Parliament had rejected a vote of confidence in the Government by 46 votes against 43, the Cabinet resigned. On Nov. 22 a new Cabinet was formed, made up as follows:

DOMINIKUES DOS SANTOS—Premier, Minister of Interior, Provisional Minister of Marine.

SENHOR SOUZA JR.—Education.

COLONEL HELDER RIBEIRA—War.

PEDRO CASTRO—Justice.

CAPTAIN PLINIO SILVA—Commerce.

EZEKIEL CAMPOS—Agriculture.

CARLOS VASCONCELOS—Colonies.

JOAO DEUS RAMOS—Labor.

JOAO BARROS—Foreign Affairs.

SENHOR PESTANA JR.—Finance.

All these were Democrats except Vasconcelos, who is of the Republican Action Party. The new Premier concluded his strong speech by saying that his party's program could be summarized in three words: "Liberty, bread, education."

Switzerland

ABOUT 193,000,000 francs is to be spent in 1925 in electrifying the Swiss railways, according to a statement of the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. The Government planned to meet this outlay by the issue of three months' treasury bonds, to be discounted by the National Bank. This was to be followed in the Spring by a large railway loan, out of the proceeds of which the floating debt was to be taken up.

Holland

THE export of Dutch manufactured goods during the second quarter of 1924 exceeded that of the same period in 1923, in both weight and value, by about 18 and 14 per cent. respectively. Unemployment had considerably decreased. Prices, however, were not entirely satisfactory, and there was keen foreign and domestic competition. High taxes hampered industrial enterprise. On a single purchase of Dutch guilders in New York on Nov. 20, that currency moved up to par for the first time since May 17, 1919.

A shortage of houses at Amsterdam of 35,000 after the war was being met by the building of 5,000 houses the first year, of 6,000 the second and of 9,000 the third.

A very severe earthquake occurred on Nov. 12 in the island of Java. Parts of Bismo mountain were dislodged, so that a river was converted into a torrent of mud fifty yards wide which swept down and created great havoc. One village disappeared. In all, the earthquake destroyed 664 lives.

Denmark

IT was stated that if the bill for abolishing the Danish army and navy passed both houses of Parliament, it would then be submitted to popular vote. Conservatives strongly opposed the bill, and it was possible that it might lead to a dissolution of Parliament and new elections.

Premier Stauning introduced a bill on Nov. 17 authorizing the Minister of Finance to assist the National Bank to obtain a \$40,000,000 credit for the purpose of stabilizing and increasing the value of the krone.

Telephone connection was opened on Nov. 25 between Copenhagen and Switzerland.

Minister of Justice Steincke recently introduced a bill into Parliament exempting physicians from any penalty for taking the life of a "hopelessly ill person" undergoing "severe and inevitable suffering."

The conservative opposition accused Borghjerg, Minister of Social Affairs, of having connived at the sending of information to German submarines during the war. He denied it, and opened suit against the editor who gave the charge publicity.

Norway

AFTER Jan. 1, 1925, Christiania will resume its former name of Oslo. Oslo was founded in 1048, but was almost destroyed by fire in 1624. King Christian IV. then selected a new site on the west side of the Aker River and changed the town's name to Christiania. From 1624 to 1814 its population grew from 5,000 to only 14,000, but it is now a fine commercial and industrial city of 260,000 as well as the centre of administration, politics and learning.

The new Storting, in which the combined Conservatives and Agrarians will have a majority of two, was scheduled to meet in January, 1925. Premier Mowinckel and his Cabinet, it was understood, would hold office meanwhile.

The Government warned shipowners

against expecting governmental aid if they get into trouble through allowing their ships to engage in the smuggling trade to America.

The Norges Kommunistblad admitted the authenticity of a letter to the Norwegian workers from the executive of the Communist International in Moscow, similar to that said to have been sent by Zinoviev to the British Communists. It urged the use of every opportunity to carry on the struggle, particularly the use of mass demonstration.

Sweden

AT the beginning of 1925 a remarkably simple postal banking system will be inaugurated in Sweden. Any one may deposit money with the Post Office, and whenever he wishes to make a payment to another depositor he will write out the order on a postal card and drop it into a mail box. The Government will transfer the credit and notify the payee immediately. At the end of every day on which a change in a depositor's account is made a transcript of the clerical record will be mailed to him at once. No charge is made for this service. In fact, a small interest will be paid on sums not exceeding 100,000 kronor remaining to a depositor's credit for half a month.

The Swedish State Railways will invest more than \$4,000,000 during the next budget year in new construction, including the remodeling of the Central Station in Stockholm. In connection with the new construction, it was stated, an order for 8,000 tons of rails had been placed in Belgium.

The City Council of Stockholm voted to take over the controlling interest in the reorganized corporation which is to manage the Free Port of Stockholm. At the same time an appropriation of \$1,854,000 was voted for the purchase of shares in the new corporation and for the construction of new warehouses and equipment for handling cargoes.

The Swedish financier, Marcus Wallenberg, head of Stockholm's Enskilda Bank, was invited to serve on the Dawes committee as a member representing

neutral countries. Mr. Wallenberg, who is a brother of the Swedish Minister to the United States, Captain Axel F. Wallenberg, is a well-known expert on international finance and has previously represented Sweden in financial conferences conducted by the League of Nations.

The Swedish Government decided to continue its policy, inaugurated a few years ago, of using naval vessels on training cruises for the added purpose of carrying trade information abroad, and accordingly sent the cruiser *Fylgia* on a long voyage to visit all ports of commercial importance. Two new destroyers had been ordered by the Government, one to be built at the Göta Works, in Gothenburg, and the other at the Kockum Works, in Malmö. They

are to be 300 feet in length, with a displacement of 974 tons. They will burn oil and their turbine engines will develop a speed of thirty-five knots. Each vessel will cost about \$1,915,000, of which 80 to 90 per cent. will be expended in wages.

The Nobel Foundation announced that the usual Nobel festival, at which prizes are formally presented to the winners, would not take place in 1924, because of the fact that, for of various reasons, none of the winners found it possible to attend.

The Nobel Prize in Literature was awarded to the Polish author, Wladislaw Reymont, for his novel, "Polish Peasants," which traces Poland's history from her partition to the end of the eighteenth century.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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THE Grand National Assembly opened at Angora on Nov. 1. Several days earlier the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, had made a four hours' speech to the greater part of the Deputies, sitting as the People's Party. He reviewed the work done by the Government during the recess of six months. He declared that Turkish relations with Russia, France and Italy were excellent. He noted that the salaries of Government servants had been paid regularly, "an unprecedented event in our financial annals." He denied that the fate of the Constantinople Greeks had been handled in any high-handed way. He stated that the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement would be abolished, and that henceforth the Provincial Governors would have the duty of settling immigrants. Inasmuch as the properties abandoned by Greek and Armenian emigrants were insufficient to

meet the needs of the incoming Moslems, the amount would be increased.

A Progressive Republican Party has been organized as a regular opposition, including among its members such distinguished men as Rauf Bey, former naval commander and negotiator with the Allies; Adnan Bey, long High Commissioner for the Angora Government in Constantinople; Jambolat Bey, Minister of the Interior during the war; Bekir Sami Bey, former Ambassador to London, and a group of high army officers who had resigned their commands in order to be able to take part in political affairs. Whether there was any truth in the statement that the opposition desired the overthrow of President Mustapha Kemal Pasha could not easily be determined. They appeared to have succeeded in securing the resignation of Ismet Pasha, which he submitted three weeks after the opening of the Assem-

bly. Ismet Pasha resigned on the ground of ill health, stating that the doctors advised him to take a rest abroad. Fethi Bey, who recently negotiated with the British in regard to the Province of Mosul, and who, a week earlier, had been chosen President of the Grand National Assembly for the third time, took the Premiership, as well as the Ministry of National Defense.

Attacks were made in the Assembly upon the Government's shortcomings in the exchange of populations and the reform of the judicial and educational systems. On the other hand, certain members of the opposition, especially Rauf Bey and Refet Pasha, were charged with being enemies of the republican form of government. They declared that they wished neither Sultanate nor Caliphate of any kind, but that they objected, on principle, to the present state of affairs, in which there was too much personal despotism. The Government obtained a vote of confidence on Nov. 9, by 147 to 19. More than 100 members of the House were either absent or not voting.

The budget presented to the Assembly showed a deficit of about \$10,000,000, receipts being estimated at \$85,000,000 and expenditures at \$95,000,000. No provision was made in the budget toward the principal and interest of the foreign debt. The Government asked and obtained supplementary credits for the current year amounting to \$7,000,000.

The American colleges and schools in Turkey were reported to be flourishing, so far as they were permitted to be reopened. The two colleges at Constantinople had a large attendance. The Gedik Pasha School in Constantinople was overcrowded, as usual, and the same was true of the Woman's Board School at Smyrna. The International College at Smyrna accepted 260 students with room for only 200; many others were turned away. Three colleges have been moved—Central Turkey College, formerly at Aintab, to Aleppo, in Syria; Anatolia College, formerly at Marsovan, to Saloniki, and the School

of Religion, from Constantinople to Athens. St. Paul's Institute at Tarsus has not yet been permitted to open. The hospitals at Adana and Aintab were busy. Dr. Shepard was not permitted to practice at the latter place.

Arabia

KING ALI prepared to defend Jeddah, fortifying his position and obtaining reinforcements and supplies from Akaba. The Wahabis occupied Rabeh, on the north, and Kunfida, on the south. Certain mediators prevented the two forces from coming into conflict. Ibn Saud showed no sign of relinquishing control of Mecca. On the contrary, he summoned a Mohammedan Assembly to meet either there or at his capital, Riyadh, to determine the questions of the Emirate of Mecca and the Caliphate. King Hussein, who was offered asylum at Basra, in Iraq, declared to interviewers: "I lost the throne because I declined to sign the Anglo-Hedjaz Treaty. I tried to cancel the Balfour Declaration, but was unsuccessful. However, I would rather see Ibn Saud master of Arabia than a foreign power dominating the Arabs."

Approval was expressed in Arabic newspapers of the candidacy, not only for the Emirate of Mecca but also for the Caliphate of the Moslem world, of Sherif Ali Haidar, long resident in Constantinople, a learned Moslem as well as a man highly trained in European knowledge, a patron of art and music, progressive in his tendencies, and proud of the capacities of the Arabs and the resources of Arabia.

Palestine

MAJOR GEN. SIR GEORGE FLETCHER MACMUNN, British Quartermaster General of India, has been appointed High Commissioner of Palestine, to take office when Sir Herbert Samuel retires. Sir George, who is 55 years old, has served in India, South Africa and variously during the World War. He was Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in Mesopo-

tamia in 1919 and 1920. General Ronald Storrs, who has been Governor of Jerusalem during the last five years, was chosen to occupy the post of Chief Civil Secretary.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress prepared for submission to the League of Nations a "Report on the State of Palestine During Four Years of Civil Administration," containing a complaint against "the injustice of creating a national home for the Jews in Palestine, which is the well-established home of the Palestinian Arabs (Moslems and Christians)."

On the basis of Great Britain's report of its administration of the mandate for Palestine during the year 1923, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League prepared for submission at Rome a report, which drew the particular attention of the Council to disputes between the Zionists and Arab leaders. Questions discussed included immigration, the establishment of a national Jewish home and the Arab claim that the British action constituted "a seizure by foreigners of their traditional patrimony."

During the past four years approximately 3,000,000 trees and 1,000,000 vines have been planted in Palestine. The work was done by various agencies, including the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture, the Zionist Executive, the Supreme Moslem Council, municipalities, hospitals, villages and private citizens.

Commissions and research units under the auspices of the Palestinian Government have obtained no small success in the work of eliminating malaria from the country. This disease disabled the Turkish army to such an extent during the great war as to contribute notably to the success of the British advance. The planting of the Australian eucalyptus tree in marshy regions has aided greatly in the extermination of the malarial mosquito.

It was announced at a meeting of the National Council of the Palestine Foundation Fund that more than \$6,000,000 has been spent in three years on the

rebuilding of the Holy Land. About one-third of this amount was contributed by Jews of New York City.

Syria

GENERAL MAURICE P. E. SARRAIL, who distinguished himself during the Battle of the Marne and later as Commander-in-Chief on the Saloniki front, has been appointed High Commissioner of Syria, in place of General Weygand.

Inasmuch as certain villages in the anti-Lebanon and the Bekaa were understood to harbor brigands, the Government undertook a process of disarmament. Enough abandoned Turkish rifles were found in the latter district to equip an entire division. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been appropriated to drain the marshes of the Bekaa, the great valley between the two Lebanon ranges, at the north end of which lies Baalbek.

Iraq

A STRONG demand having arisen for the immediate ratification of the organic law, the Prime Minister explained that it was necessary first to pass some urgent legislation, particularly that concerning the budget. The Arabs of Mosul were reported to have announced that when the expected commission of the League of Nations visited them they would declare themselves for inclusion in Turkey unless they were granted certain reductions of taxation.

During the recent Turkish incursion north of Mosul the Turks burned a number of Assyrian villages. About 5,000 Assyrian tribesmen, who had only recently been repatriated, fled southward, again becoming refugees.

Persia

THE two men convicted of participating in the murder of Major Imbrie, but whose execution had been delayed, were put to death on Nov. 2. A week later the American Chargé d'Affaires at Teheran, Mr. Wallace S. Murray, delivered a note to the Persian

Government. The document expressed gratification at the punishment of those found guilty of the attack on Vice Consul Imbrie. It acknowledged the receipt of \$60,000 indemnity for his widow. As regards reimbursement for expenses incurred in dispatching an American warship to Persia for the return of the body, it was announced that the sum of \$110,000 expended thus was to be set aside by the Persian Government as a "trust fund to be utilized for the education of Persian students at institutions of higher learning in the United States." The effect of this generous arrangement was to improve greatly the state of feeling between the United States and Persia.

The American financial mission proposed to the Parliament an income tax bill which met the disapproval of a majority of the members. Popular newspapers took up the mission's cause. The American mission delayed making a necessary payment, and officers were placed at the Treasurer's door to enforce the payment. The Prime Minister later instructed the Minister of Fi-

nance to apologize to the Americans but to warn them against repeating such delays.

An English dealer in motor cars named Cox, while halted by a breakdown early in November near Shiraz, was killed by some Persians. A peaceful arrangement was reported to have been made with the Sheik of Mohammerah.

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company, in its report for the year ended March 31, 1924, announced a profit of \$15,000,000. A dividend of 10 per cent. was declared on ordinary stock. The Chairman, in defending the company against attacks, announced that the production from the main Persian field was at the rate of 4,500,000 tons per annum. The company, which had in operation 700 miles of pipe lines, much of which was ten inches or more in diameter, employed over 50,000 people, owned more than 4,000 dwelling houses and barracks, conducted five hospitals in Persia with 274 beds and gave free treatment to about 1,000 in-patients and 34,000 out-patients.

The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

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China

DURING the month under review military operations were made subordinate to the political developments. The surprising events of October had shaken the foundations of the old political structure in China and the whole hierarchy of functionaries was busy, each group deciding what course of action would best serve its own ends. Early in November General Feng Yu-hsiang, whose coup had humbled his superior, Wu Pei-fu, was master of Peking. He then named a Provisional Cabinet. A mandate was issued which rescinded the punishments

meted out to the Anfu Club supporters of Marshal Tuan Chi-jui in 1920, and to Chang Tso-lin in September last. On Nov. 10 General Chang and General Feng went into council with Marshal Tuan in Tien-tsin. Chang had come down from Manchuria with a strong military force, including a battalion of Russian mercenaries, and with a liberal supply of Manchurian grain for the flood sufferers in North China. The conference was prolonged for ten days, perhaps because the principles waited for Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was en route from Canton, but more likely because Chang and Tuan were engaged in subordinating Feng, who, at the time, con-

trolled Peking. In this they were entirely successful, as later developments made clear. Tuan, preceded by Chang Tso-lin's troops, entered Peking and Chang and Feng soon followed.

Tuan Chi-jui on Nov. 24 assumed the office of Chief Executive of the republic and promulgated a Provisional Government at Peking which was to last until a formal Government was established. The mandate stated:

The institution of the Provisional Government of the Republic of China at this time has for its object the reorganization of the Government on new lines and the initiation of a general change with the cooperation of the people. The task is of great magnitude and questions of every kind are awaiting joint solution by all concerned. All former executive and judicial laws and orders shall continue in force except in so far as they may be incompatible with the organization of the Provisional Government or may have been canceled by official orders."

A new Cabinet was completed on Nov. 27, as follows:

TUAN CHI-JUI—Chief Executive.
TANG SHAO-YI—Foreign Affairs.
KUNG HSIN-CHEN—Interior.
LI SHI-HAO—Finance.
WU KUAG-HSIN—Army.
LIN CHEIN-CHANG—Navy.
CHANG SHIH-CHAO—Justice.
WANG KIU-LING—Education.
YANG SHU-KAN—Agriculture and Commerce.
YEH KUNG-CHO—Communications.

The Chihli Party, which had controlled Peking since 1920, was not represented in the new Government. General Feng then announced his resignation of the army command and stated that he proposed to visit the United States. He also sent a telegram to Wu Pei-fu inviting him to go abroad so that the country could work out its problems without military intervention. The elimination of Feng seems to have been due to the desire to attract some of the supporters of Wu Pei-fu in the Yangtse Valley; these forces, it was known, would not accept the new régime as long as Feng, whom they have denounced as a traitor, was influential there. It should be remembered that Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, the new Chief Executive, was Prime Minister in 1917-20, and that he was

driven out of power by the combined forces of Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu. Since that time he has been nominally in retirement in Tientsin, engaged in Buddhist studies, but actually he was the master mind in the new combination which resulted in the overthrow of Wu Pei-fu and the Chihli Party. In 1918-20 the Anfu Club, a group of Generals and politicians supporting Tuan, was generally known as the pro-Japanese Party. The foreign diplomats in Peking made official calls upon Chief Executive Tuan on Nov. 28.

In the meantime Marshal Wu Pei-fu, with a few loyal troops, had proceeded by sea to the Yangtse region. On Nov. 15 he arrived at Nanking and went into conference with military leaders of eight of the Yangtse Provinces. On Nov. 19 he was at Hankow, where an independent military Government was organized and steps were taken to organize a force to drive Chang and Feng out of Peking; on Dec. 2, however, Chang sprang a surprise by suddenly withdrawing from the capital. He left detachments of troops near to support Tuan in case of attack.

The apprehension which had been felt regarding the fate of former President Tsao Kun was accentuated on Dec. 15, when Li Yen-ching, Treasurer in Tsao Kun's household at Peking, was shot dead without a trial. The execution, of which Dictator Tuan was said to have been unaware, took place in a yard at the Temple of Agriculture.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen reached Shanghai on Nov. 17 and in order to avoid the danger of travelling on a Chinese ship, he proceeded to Japan. At Nagasaki on Nov. 24 he gave out a statement that America and Great Britain had supported the defeated Wu Pei-fu faction. He then continued on to Kobe and from there to Tientsin, where he arrived on Dec. 4.

Two American missionaries were held by bandits after the looting of Juchow, Honan Province, on Nov. 27. A Norwegian missionary was taken prisoner at Sichwan, Honan, on Nov. 21. An entire party of American nuns and

priests were kidnapped in Honan by bandits on Dec. 7; it was unofficially reported on Dec. 8 that after being robbed all had been released. Brigands were declared to be especially violent in their depredations in Honan during December; many bridges were blown up and trains wrecked.

Japan

DAISUKE NAMBA, the young Communist who attempted to assassinate the Prince Regent last December, was brought to trial on Oct. 1. The sentence of death was handed down on Nov. 13, and carried out two days later. **Rishe Okada**, who cut down the flag of the American Embassy during the anti-exclusion demonstrations on July 1, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. His two accomplices received suspended sentences.

The law abolishing the dual nationality of Japanese born in the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile and Peru, which was passed by the Diet on July 15, went into effect on Dec. 1.

The new commercial treaty between Japan and Mexico, signed on Oct. 8, was ratified by the Mexican Senate unanimously on Nov. 29.

The proposed naval manoeuvres of the American fleet off Hawaii this year was the subject of much press comment, and it was pointed out that the only possible "enemy" involved in such operations was Japan. On this question Ad-

miral **Okada**, newly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the imperial joint squadrons, made the following statement to The Associated Press:

Here they fret and fume about ulterior intentions of America, while there they write about Japan's suspicions. One is as groundless as the other. I do not deny that some suspicion is entertained by a limited section of our public, but I do assert that it is far from the sense of the entire Japanese nation or navy.

Edgar A. Bancroft, newly appointed Ambassador from the United States to Japan, was received in audience by the Prince Regent on Nov. 19.

The appointment of **Tsuneo Matsudaira**, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, as Japanese Ambassador to Washington, to succeed Ambassador **Hanihara**, was announced on Dec. 16; **M. Matsudaira**, who previously was Director of the European and American Bureau of the Foreign Office, took a leading part in the recent negotiations between the Soviet and Japan.

Alarmed by the decline in the exchange value of the yen, the Tokio Government decided to permit the exportation of gold and, if necessary, to sell gold deposited abroad and export a portion of the domestic gold reserve.

The Ministry decided that the Government railways of Korea, which have been under the management of the South Manchuria Railway, should be returned to Government control.

International Events

By **ROBERT McELROY**

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University

OFFICIAL participation by the United States in the arms traffic parley was announced on Dec. 9, 1924, by Secretary **Hughes** in the following letter to Sir **Eric Drummond**, Secretary General of the League of Nations:

I beg to inform you that I have been instructed by my Government to acknowledge

the receipt of your communication of Oct. 7, 1924, transmitting the text of a resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations with respect to the holding of an international conference of the States, members and non-members of the League of Nations, in April or May, 1925, for the purpose of considering the conclusion of a convention with respect to the international trade in arms, munitions and implements of war. In

this communication you inquire whether my Government would be prepared to take part in such conference.

In reply I take pleasure in referring to the communication addressed to you on Aug. 29, in which it was stated that my Government would be disposed to give favorable consideration to an invitation to participate in an appropriate international conference of the powers for the aforementioned purpose. My Government still holds this attitude and is agreeable to the suggestion that the time of holding the conference should be in April or May, 1925.

Secretary Hughes's letter was read to the League Council, which was meeting at Rome, and, after expressions of satisfaction at America's decision, the Council decided to hold the arms traffic conference at Geneva on May 4, 1925. Later dispatches, however, indicated that the date would probably be much later. During the same meeting of the Council it was definitely decided to postpone further consideration of the Geneva protocol, as requested by the British Government. This action was taken after the British Foreign Secretary, Austen Chamberlain, had fully explained the reasons that had led the Baldwin Government to desire postponement. Lest it should be thought that Mr. Chamberlain's plea for delay was an attempt to kill the protocol, however, Foreign Minister Benès of Czechoslovakia, who drafted the resolution of postponement, assured the Council that the British Cabinet had not yet reached a decision upon the protocol, and that his resolution meant "an adjournment and nothing but an adjournment." All the other delegates, in their comments upon the resolution, were careful to express firm belief in the protocol and the desire that its consideration be delayed as little as possible. Aristide Briand, the French representative, declared that the French Government had a profound belief in the protocol.

The Council concluded its session in Rome on Dec. 13, 1924, after having considered the forty subjects of financial, political, judicial and humanitarian nature that made up the agenda. Among the decisions was one to accept the offer of the French Government to

establish in Paris an International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. In the course of the examination of various questions connected with the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations in Asia Minor it was decided that the definition of Greek inhabitants of Constantinople not subject to compulsory exchange be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

A subject of unusual interest, as the Council adjourned, was the announcement that Great Britain had sent a note to the League asking that the Irish treaty be not recognized as an instrument capable of being registered under the provisions of the Covenant, because Great Britain did not regard that document as an international treaty.

The most constructive achievement of the month in the field of foreign relations was the conclusion of a general commercial treaty between Great Britain and Germany. The agreement guaranteed equitable treatment of British subjects and United Kingdom corporations in matters of taxation in Germany, and put British shipping on an equal footing with German, with the possible exception of the coasting trade.

AFRICAN TROUBLES

During the past month African conditions have caused European statesmen much concern. In addition to the crisis in Egypt (dealt with elsewhere), Italy was faced with rebellion in Tripoli; Spain was engaged in fighting in Morocco, not only Abdul Krim, but also the Pan-Islamic influences behind him, influences that ranged straight across Northern Africa, French Morocco, Algeria, Tripoli and Egypt, thence into Asia by way of Angora. The discontent throughout this entire area, which had caused Great Britain, France and Spain much anxious thought and much drastic action, was supposed to have been fostered by moral and material encouragement from Soviet Russia. It was the consciousness of world-wide unrest among dependent people which caused Great Britain to warn the other nations to keep their hands off Egypt

and to allow her to settle her "domestic" problems as the needs of her empire demand.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN TREATIES DENOUNCED

Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on Nov. 21 formally denounced the two treaties with the Russian Soviets concluded by the Labor Government. At the same time he reasserted the British contention that the much-discussed Zinoviev letter, recently declared a forgery by Russian authorities, was genuine and taxed the Moscow authorities for their failure to check the propaganda activities of the Communist International. This action created a novel situation. Treaties which the previous Government under Ramsay MacDonald had signed and which, by implication, at least, the Government was under obligation to submit to Parliament, were canceled, and the Soviet Government was warned that the continuance of diplomatic relations depended upon Russia's good behavior with respect to propaganda. Subsequent reports from Europe, however, indicated that the Red propaganda was by no means diminishing on the Continent. A Paris dispatch of Dec. 4 declared:

Leonid Krassin, Soviet Russia's first Ambassador to France, arrived in Paris at 11 o'clock this morning, and almost at the same moment Jacques Sadoul, the former French Captain who was converted to Bolshevism, was arrested. The day was one of Communist demonstrations. There was a crowd of some 5,000 Communists at the station and the embassy to welcome the Ambassador. In one speech of welcome delivered by "Comrade" Doriot it was announced: "Krassin has reached Paris; the revolution has begun."

On Dec. 6, Premier Herriot opened fire on the Red propagandists, declaring in the Chamber:

The Government is well aware of its duty and will take action against these foreign Communists who are here agitating against the social peace of the country. We are prepared to order the necessary expulsions and will defend the democratic republic against both the Clerical peril and the Communist peril which are threatening it in opposite directions but with the same methods of agitation.

On Dec. 7, a dispatch from Riga declared:

Moscow is showing increased anxiety over the apparent intention of a closer Anglo-French cooperation in foreign affairs, and is especially exercised over Austen Chamberlain's visit to Paris and Rome, which it fears may result in the creation of a united anti-Bolshevist front.

A dispatch from Berlin, dated Dec. 6, declared:

The abortive Bolshevik uprising in Reval and the widespread Communist conspiracy unearthed by the Esthonian Government for the Bolshevization of Esthonia will serve to call to the mind of Europe the fact that the Bolshevik menace still is very much alive.

Almost at the same moment came news from Yugoslavia revealing close cooperation between Moscow and the Raditch Party for the establishment of a Communist dictatorship in Belgrade, to be used as a centre for the extension of Bolshevism in the Balkans.

THE WORLD COURT

An event of international importance was the accession of Senator William E. Borah to the position of Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate.

On Dec. 6 a Washington dispatch stated:

The activities of Senator Swanson of Virginia and other Democratic Senators in behalf of the Harding-Hughes plan of American adhesion to the Permanent Court of International Justice set up by the League of Nations at The Hague brought today from Senator Borah of Idaho, the new Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a statement that indicated hostility to any World Court which bore a relationship to the League.

Mr. Borah did not declare hostility to the World Court principle. On the contrary, he expressed sympathy with it and mentioned that he had been in favor of a World Court for twenty years. At the same time he showed that he was not in accord with the effort which President Coolidge is seeking to further, following the example of President Harding, to bring about an arrangement under which the United States would cooperate with the existing League Court at The Hague, with certain reservations designed to prevent this Government becoming involved in the League of Nations' affairs.

From Foreign Periodicals

The Spanish Dictatorship

FROM EUROPE (PARIS), NOV., 1924.

DAY after day for twelve long months the nine Brigadier Generals of the Spanish Directory have met in deliberation around the council table. Notwithstanding the elaborate notes given out after every meeting, the Generals were obliged to confess that good fortune was not on their side. Everything is worse today than it was a year ago. And although these gentlemen most childishly claimed that they would create a new nation "within nine hundred hours," still their patriotism has not inspired them with a solution worthy to be taken seriously by the people as likely to relieve the many ills of the country. * * * A militarism made desperate by a succession of defeats, and the increasing despotism of the king, have formed a close alliance of loud talking and inefficient patriotism over the prostrate body of Spain.

We thus see the main reason why the Spanish nation cannot come out regenerated from the régime of its present rulers. Primo de Rivera found himself suddenly possessed of powers unlimited and absolute, and furthermore powers that were vastly superior to his personal capacity. No one has ever had such powers in Spain. In the first days of the Dictatorship his will was the law of the land.

The monarchist political parties had vanished from public life, in the same way in which rabbits vanish in their holes when the hunting dogs are around. All they did was to gather in some intimate reunions and point out the mistakes of the Directory. The big "bosses" of the parliamentary régime vied with each other in blaming the King for all that had happened. The Republicans lacked a program and had no organized forces. The Catalan parties were either too weak to act or they let themselves be cajoled by promises of local autonomy and a policy of a protective tariff; on the other hand, should they attempt to rise in force they would risk being massacred. The revolutionary syndicates of Barcelona could not do anything but provoke local troubles, which proved of scant service to the rest of the nation. The Socialist Party and the General Union of Workers remained calm. The present struggle in Spain is between bourgeois, and the radical and labor groups saw no reason why they should risk their necks in a cause which, at best, would bring Romanones or Albucemas or Maura or some other of the old politicians to power. The worst feature of a possible Socialist agitation, however, was that it would strengthen

the hand of the Directory, since it would give the latter a chance to appear in the rôle of the savior of society.

Not even the press, whose power in Spain is limited, as most of the papers have limited circulation, set any obstacle in the path of the Directory. With very rare exceptions, this press rather helped the dictators by giving all publicity to their edicts and their stupid propaganda. The press in Spain is divided into two main camps. The extreme right journals placed themselves under the orders of the Directory; the so-called "liberal" press showed reservation and even hostility to the usurpers; there were, however, among the "liberal" publications a few holding to the hope that triumphant militarism might offer some benefit to the country.

Germany and the League

FROM DER NEUE MERKUR (STUTTGART), OCT., '24

WILL Germany enter the League of Nations unconditionally? Or will her entry depend on the settlement of the question of the war guilt? To state it in a different way: Does Germany desire real power, or paper justice? (Righteousness seems a better word.)

The world does not ask for justice but for the cooperation of Germany in the reconstruction of Europe. And this will be impossible when Germany makes the whole issue conditional on the investigation of the war guilt, or on the demand that she alone be declared not guilty of it. The Government is deceiving itself when it cherishes the idea that the question of war guilt will be investigated. The world does not want justice—in the words of Goethe, "Justice is the whole trouble and the phantom of the Germans."

Alone, we are nothing, but federated with with other States we are much. This was understood by Bismarck, who even after the "injustice" of the Olmutz treaty, was convinced of the necessity of keeping Prussia in the bonds of an alliance for fourteen years, from 1852 to 1866, because as a statesman he knew that the weak one should not be isolated. Talleyrand knew that by abjuring Napoleon he would be cursed as a man for all eternity. Nevertheless he saved France. The same was proved later by Gentz, by Gagern and by Guizot.

Such historical reminiscences are unpleasant but useful. To remember Talleyrand is in this connection so much more necessary, because of the fact that the foreign papers themselves, including even those neutrals that have been friendly to us, are of the opinion that Germany, when she demands a thorough inves-

tigation of the war guilt, has in mind nothing more than a whitewashing of the old Imperial régime. Such an opinion would be extremely dangerous for us if allowed to prevail. Therefore, what we must have in mind is that we are not intent upon the question of righteousness, but upon the securing of power. In the League of Nations Germany will have a partial voice over her own fate; outside of the League Germany is more or less an object of foreign policy.

Many German politicians fear that Germany's entrance into the League of Nations will precipitate a turn for the worse in the Russo-German relations. But it is the duty of German statesmen to see to it that our entrance into the League does not involve any coolness in our relations with Moscow. * * *

America today wants an orderly Europe. Peace in Europe will be firmly established when Germany enters the League of Nations. The pacification of Europe is necessary to the Americans, first, because they want their European market back, and, second, because a peaceful Europe is the best bulwark against Russia. In the case that the pacification of Europe is not fully possible, or is brought about in an unsatisfactory way, the Americans will seek a substitute in China, whose recent troubles are the signs of the economic penetration of America in that country. * * *

Crimean Expedition of 1918

FROM THE RUSSIAN PERIODICAL NA CHUZHOI STORONYÉ (PRAGUE).

DURING the Autumn of 1918, Hetman Skoropadski, fully supported by Germany and her armies, was the supreme master in the Ukraine. He had his headquarters in Kieff, and he had no army of his own except the forces located there by the Germans, who had raised him to authority. His so-called Ministry was divided into two factions, one being in favor of the ultimate independence of the Ukraine and the other favoring reunion with Russia into a single State as in the past.

It was about this time that the Union of the Regeneration of Russia was formed; the Union constituted the First Army, whose avowed purpose was first to save the Ukraine from the Bolshevik danger, and second, to overthrow the Soviet organization throughout Russia. News of the complete victory of the Allies over Germany reached the Ukraine in November, 1918, and shortly afterward a number of allied officers, mostly French, got into communication with the Ukrainian leaders and invited them to a conference in Jassy, Rumania, to confer as to the best way of at-

tacking the Bolshevik front. The dominating idea at the time was that the Brest-Litovsk treaty between Russia and Germany should be declared invalid, and that the Bolsheviks, who had played indirectly into the hands of Germany, should be overthrown by a common effort of the Russians and the Allies. Many Russian anti-Bolshevik organizations joined in a congress which after some discussion adopted a resolution, presented by the Union of the Regeneration of Russia, in which it was stated that the efforts of the Allies should not be confined to the rendering of assistance to General Denikin, who had just organized his forces in the neighborhood of Novorossisk, but that they should extend in any necessary direction consistent with the general character of the anti-Bolshevik struggle. The congress declared the Skoropadski régime abolished, and in its stead recognized a Government that stood for the independence of the Ukraine. There was also a declaration to the effect that the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty between Russia and Germany should be considered null and void, and finally a demand that Rumania should give up Bessarabia, whose population opposed the forcible separation from the rest of Russia. The document also related how dangerous it would be to minimize the Bolshevik strength, and to allow the Reds to take possession of the southern provinces of Russia.

After the termination of the labors of the congress some delegates went back to Kiev and some to Odessa, to get in touch with their constituents and agree upon a common program of action. Shortly afterward, however, came the Petlura outbreak in Odessa, communications with Kiev were cut, and the seat of events was shifted to Odessa, now swarming with refugees from all over the Ukraine, where Petlura soon became absolute master, after occupying Kiev and dislodging Skoropadski.

Odessa at that time was in the grip of the Petlura outbreak, which, sweeping through the northern districts threatened to result in occupation of the city; the French, on the other hand, had already sent the cruiser *Mirabeau* to the harbor, and promised the speedy arrival of an allied army that would help the Russians to oppose Petlura and the Bolsheviks. The Union of the Regeneration of Russia, acting in connection with other groups, agreed to the formation of a central Government of Southern Russia, including the Ukraine, Crimea, the Don district, the Kuban district and the Caucasus. Administration details were being worked out by a central committee, and a new army was created called the Russian Volunteer Army. The majority of the population,

however, did not take kindly to the new organization, as many thought that its aim was to put the city under Ukrainian rule, the members of the different army and political groups could not work harmoniously together, and the result was that one day, General Biskupski, taking advantage of these dissensions, concluded an arrangement with the Petlura forces and surrendered the city to them. This was in December, 1918. The members of the Volunteer Army were ordered to leave the Odessa territory, the city was placed under a Ukrainian Directory, and the main body of the Volunteers, with the Provisional Government, took refuge aboard the Russian steamer *Saratov* that happened to be in the harbor. A curious situation was created, the French marines of the cruiser *Mirabeau* taking possession of the waterfront and the Petlura forces occupying the rest of the city; this continued up to the day when the rumor that General Denikin was about to take the city so demoralized the Petlurists that the volunteers of the *Saratov* were encouraged to land on the waterfront and make an attack. The Volunteers finally took possession of the city, after a severe struggle lasting the whole day. From that time on Odessa was ruled by the Volunteers.

Unfortunately, the White officers who were the leaders of the movement proved them-

selves wholly inferior to the task; furthermore, they began to intrigue against each other. There was no cooperation within the Russian political organizations; and there was incapacity and lack of understanding of the local conditions among the French. The reinforcements promised by the Allies to the Provisional Russian Government never came. Nikolaiev and Kherson were given up without a fight; and the French politicians, Consuls and Generals instead of helping the men popular among the Russians, threw their support to the worst and most notorious partisans of the old and discredited Czarist régime. It was understood that the Allies would organize the defense of Odessa; they did nothing of the kind. Generals Franchet d'Esperey and d'Anselme announced the imminent arrival of troops that never came. To make matters more serious, the French soldiers sent there had no stomach for fighting, and the Bolshevik propaganda was speedily demoralizing them. The taking of Odessa by the Bolsheviks is a sorry chapter in the history of allied intervention there; the Red Army had less than 15,000 troops, and the French, assisted by the Greek corps sent to their assistance by the Athens Government, numbered more than 30,000. And yet they all fled panic-stricken before the Bolshevik forces, which have remained in Odessa ever since.

DEATHS OF PERSONS OF PROMINENCE

EDWIN S. MONTAGU, British statesman and former Secretary of State for India, in London, Nov. 15, aged 45.

THOMAS H. INCE, American motion-picture producer, at Hollywood, Cal., Nov. 19, aged 44.

MICHAEL CARDINAL LOCUE, Primate of All Ireland, at Belfast, Nov. 19, aged 84.

MRS. FLORENCE KLING HARDING, widow of President Warren G. Harding, at Marion, Ohio, Nov. 21, aged 64.

CHARLES STEBBINS FAIRCHILD, Secretary of the Treasury, 1887-1889, under President Cleveland, at Cazenovia, N. Y., Nov. 24, aged 82.

DR. JOHN B. ROBERTS, American surgeon and President of the American Surgical Association, at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 28, aged 72.

GIACOMO PUCCINI, Italian musical composer, at Brussels, Belgium, Nov. 29, aged 66. He wrote the music of "La Bohème," "Tosca," "Madama Butterfly" and other operas.

ARTHUR I. KELLER, American artist and illustrator, in New York, Dec. 3, aged 57.

GENERAL CIPRIANO CASTRO, President of Venezuela from 1899 to 1908, at San Juan, Porto Rico, Dec. 5, aged 66.

GENE STRATTON PORTER, American novelist, at Los Angeles, Cal., aged 56.

WILLIAM C. BROWN, former President of the New York Central Railroad, at Pasadena, Cal., Dec. 6, aged 71.

WILLIAM C. REICK, American publisher and former owner of The New York Sun and The Evening Sun (New York), in New York, Dec. 7, aged 60.

MAHLON PITNEY, former Justice of the United States Supreme Court, in Washington, D. C., Dec. 9, aged 66.

AUGUST BELMONT, American capitalist, in New York, Dec. 10, aged 71.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President of the American Federation of Labor, at San Antonio, Texas, Dec. 13, aged 74.

MARTIN H. GLYNN, former Governor of New York State and intermediary between David Lloyd George and Eamon de Valera, in the settlement of the Irish question in 1921, at Albany, N. Y., Dec. 14, aged 53.